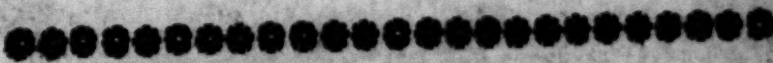


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M O D E L S
O F
CONVERSATION.



CONSERVATION OF MONUMENTS

MODELS

OF

CONSERVATION

BRITISH MUSEUM



James MODELS *Parkinson*
OF

CONVERSATION

FOR

PERSONS

OF

POLITE EDUCATION.

SELECTED and TRANSLATED

From the FRENCH of M. l'Abbé de

Monsieur de BELLEGARDE.

*Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci,
Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo.*

LONDON:

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand.

M DCC LXV.

M O D E L S

CONVERSION

P R O P

P O L I T E



L O N D O N

Printed for A. Millar, in Pall Mall

1794

THE

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

IT is an universally allowed maxim, that precept is best enforced by example. Horace, who was himself so great a master in the conduct of life, makes the most honourable mention of his father's care of his education in this method of instruction; corroborating all his precepts to him by some well-known instance of virtue or vice, to be copied or avoided according as he might see their different effects on the reputation of others.

SAT. IV. lib. I.

. *Insuevit pater optimus hoc me,
Ut fugerem exemplis vitiorum quæque notando.
. sive jubebat
Ut facerem quid; habes auctorem, quo facias hoc;*

*Sive vetabat, an hoc inhonestum et inutile factu,
 Necne sit, adubites, flagret rumore malo cum
 Hic atque ille? Avidos vicinum funus ut egros
 Exanimat, mortisque metu sibi parcere cogit:
 Sic teneros animos aliena opprobria sepe
 Absterrent vitis.*

E N G L I S H E D.

"IT was after this manner that the
 "best of fathers taught me to shun vice,
 "pointing out its enormity by living
 "examples."

"WHEN he advised me to any thing
 "commendable, he always enforced his
 "advice by an example, and set before
 "me an instance to copy. If he dissuad-
 "ed me from any thing base, *Can you*
 "doubt, would he say, *whether this be*
 "*dishonourable and pernicious; when this and*
 "*that person you know labour under so bad a*
 "*character for it?* As the death of an
 "acquaintance, occasioned by his own
 "obstinacy, often alarms the sick, and
 "makes

P R E F A C E.

vii

“ makes them more manageable; so
“ the miseries which men bring upon
“ themselves, by their own errors, make
“ tender minds careful to avoid the
“ gulf into which the vices or follies of
“ others plunge them.”

THIS plan our Author has adopted;
and it is without doubt a much more
insinuating way of conveying instruction
to men; and, as experience evinces,
makes a deeper impression on the hu-
man mind, than the best lessons of mo-
rality, however well inculcated, can do
without it. Whilst it amuses, it at the
same time instructs, and insensibly forms
the soul to virtue. Thus, agreeable to
the motto in the title-page, “ By a proper
“ mixture of the useful and agreeable,
“ you improve and please the reader at
“ the same time, and every heart finds it-
“ self gratified.”

OUR Author's anecdotes, for the illustration of the moral he means to convey, are in the three first conversation-pieces, wholly or chiefly confined to his own nation; a partiality visibly to be distinguished in most writers, and, where not indulged at the expence of truth, not unpardonable. Should they be thought borrowed from characters of too high life for common utility; yet the doctrines they assert, and are only brought to confirm, may surely be abstracted from the rank in life they are drawn from, and accommodated to every level.

HIS extracts from the Roman history, in the conversation on Heroic Virtue, afford no despicable insight into it; and, as the series of facts are pretty regularly observed, is a kind of epitome of it to the death of Heliogabalus.

P R E F A C E.

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THE last conversation-subject may entertain for its singularity, and attempt to do justice to the merits of the sex, in a point of view wherein the Fair have found but few advocates.

THE many illustrious examples from our own nation, which might be introduced in a work of this sort, may, according to the reception this meets with, give encouragement to a future attempt. Though, the truly great and good are equal friends to merit, in whom and where, soever found. That instead of needing an apology, it will give pleasure to the great names of our own time and country to view, as in a mirror, the sure justice which the pen of History will not fail to do to themselves. That of a translator is confined to the Author he undertakes to interpret, and is therefore pardonable for an involuntary omission of their mention.

THUS

THUS much the Editor thinks incumbent upon him to advertise the Public of, with the offer of this translation; only adding, that he has examined into the authenticity of the several facts related, and finds them perfectly agreeable to the best French, Roman, and Grecian historians. For any thing further, shall refer to the Author's own subsequent Advertisement, as to his intention in the work itself, which will be found on the perusal to furnish many useful hints for human conduct, and to merit the regard and attention of the Reader.

AND to the whole is added a copious Index, for the readier recourse to any of the principal matters or personages therein treated of.

THE
AUTHOR'S
ADVERTISEMENT.

MEN are formed for society: Business, decorum, and the necessity of commerce obliges them often to see and converse with one another. Persons of rank and fortune in life, who have a great deal of leisure and no employment, usually spend their time in returning or receiving visits: Now it is of great importance for these, to inform themselves in what is necessary to support their character. We decide upon any one's merit according as he acquits himself in common conversation: We do not always take the pains to search
into

xii ADVERTISEMENT.

into his good or bad qualities, but we are apt to judge of him according to his personal recommendations of himself to the world.

CONVERSATION, if we put it to its right use, contributes greatly to sweeten society, and render life more agreeable. There is not perhaps a more exquisite pleasure, a satisfaction more delightful, than what arises from the acquaintance of men of sense: But the misfortune is, the world abounds with trifling people, tiresome, insipid, impertinent, and yet full of themselves; who, troublesome as they are, affect to put on the man of consequence, and to be thought the soul of company. Such as these make solitude regretted: What they say is low, trivial, and puerile; barren of any charm for one's attention, vulgar, and uncouth. They are ever talking too, and yet one can distinguish little
but

ADVERTISEMENT. xiii

but sound. Is it then any wonder that conversation generally tires?

WHAT is still more incomprehensible, is, that certain people, who do not want sense, knowledge of the world, nor yet good-breeding, tire you as much as others, and their visits are as wearisome if they happen to be too long. And either this is because they will not be at the trouble of keeping up a conversation, or else have not the address to enter into the taste and genius of the persons they converse with. The great art of pleasing in conversation is to proportion it to the level of the company you are in, and to raise or lower one's style according to the measure of their understandings, and the occasions of the subject you are upon. There is no reason to get by heart what to say; for common conversation admits of nothing studied or affected: Chance, the times,
and

xiv. ADVERTISEMENT.

and the disposition of the company, should alone give it birth. And accordingly, in these models of conversation, we have not set people a talking for two hours together upon the same subject, till they are quite out of breath: This would have been tiresome. But what we would insinuate herein, is, that morality, history, politics, and the various events of life, are inexhaustible sources of Polite Conversation, for persons who have any taste for the belles lettres.

THOUGH the pieces of history herein related are sufficiently detached from each other, yet care has been taken in such manner to adjust and link them together, that they seem so to succeed one another as to form a connected and coherent discourse; insomuch, that one passes insensibly from one reflection to another, without ever perceiving the difference of the subject. And this variety

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ery is perhaps not unacceptable. It will not be unpleasing to men of letters, to find in these Conversations, as it were, an assemblage that will put them in mind of what they have read. And others will here discover what they did not know before; and may hence too learn how to distinguish what is worth remarking in books, and how to convert passages of history and morality to their own benefit, by rendering them subservient to the civilizing their minds, and the regulation of their own behaviour and moral conduct in life.

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ERRATA.

Page.	Line.	
54,	14,	<i>after odium add of it,</i>
94,	13,	<i>after Valentinian add had.</i>
139,	21,	<i>for Carcasionne read Carcaffone,</i>
155,	20,	<i>rush read bush.</i>
162,	21,	<i>Numentines read Numantines,</i>
193,	16,	<i>Pensa read Panfa,</i>
196,	14,	<i>established read establishing.</i>
222,	17,	<i>Chareas read Chzreas,</i>
238,	22,	<i>from Nero read to Nero,</i>
243,	8,	<i>Poppea read Poppæa,</i>
291,	7,	<i>Cæfaria read Cæfareæ.</i>
297,	2,	<i>intentions read inclinations.</i>

MODELS

M O D E L S
O F
CONVERSATION,
F O R
PERSONS of POLITE EDUCATION.

ARSENNES, Aristus, and Timanthes had been long engaged in a friendship for one another; they had passed the early part of life together, had received their education under the inspection of the same masters, nor were ever separated during the hours of their exercises: And they had besides visited, in company, most of the politest Courts in Europe. The sympathy of their dispositions, and that
B agreement

agreement in their taste for the belles lettres, the same love of virtue, the respectful and tender sentiments they entertained for one another, were what induced them to form this perfect and inoffensive union. They were seldom or never asunder, and always chose rather to disengage themselves from company, when they could do it with decency. General conversations they looked upon as insipid; because, usually, nothing was advanced in them but incoherent, puerile, and impertinent topics; things of no moment, as neither being of any service towards polishing the genius, nor modelling the judgment. When they were by themselves, they took a pleasure in talking over the observations they had made in their travels, both in regard to the customs and manners of the different people of Europe, and in relation to the interests of Princes, their polity and strength: They communicated

nicated to one another what had occurred to them remarkable in their reading. History touched them nearly, and especially those events in it which supplied them with rules for their own conduct, and so furnished them with opportunities of avoiding the faults which historians blame in others. To the study of History they joined that of Morality; the two readiest succours to assist us in the absolute conquest of our passions, or at least to moderate the fallies, and divert the bad effects of them. They never conversed together in any set or premeditated manner; chance gave rise to their discourse, just as their reading, or their own remarks, supplied them with subjects for instruction or amusement. Arfennes and Timanthes went to visit Aristus, whom they found in his closet, perusing the Works of Seneca. He was got upon that passage where the Philosopher, in a very pathetic manner, la-

4 MODELS, &c.

ments over the weakneses of human nature, and the disorders which the passions cause in the minds and manners of men. Aristus repeated to his two friends what he had been reading, and which was filled with apt reflections on the unhappiness of those, who humour their caprice at all adventures, without consulting good sense or reason in what they do.

CON-

CONVERSATION

UPON THE

DISORDERS of the PASSIONS.

IT must be owned, says Aristus, addressing himself to his two Friends, that man possesses many foibles which need reformation: He is continually running headlong into the grossest faults, when he suffers his Passions to get the ascendancy over him. The greatest geniuses lose themselves, like other men, when led by Passion; for it casts a shade over man, which eclipses the light of his reason. Hence proceed his caprices, his whimsical temper, his restless disposition, his doubts, his fickleness, his in-

B 3

constancy,

constancy, the resolutions which he forms one moment and abandons the next, and the many ill-concerted undertakings which are so often attended with such fatal consequences.

MOST men are not ignorant of what you say, replied Arsennes; they know very well, by their own experience, the mischievous tricks which their Passions play them; but then they will not take sufficient care to defend themselves from the surprizes of this domestick and dangerous enemy. The past does not long engage their attention to what may happen; but, after so many times being caught in the snare, they are ever ready to run into it again.

It is certain, continued Timanthes, that all those accidents, which render life so unhappy, are occasioned by the irregularity of some particular Passion.

DISORDERS of the PASSIONS. 7

It is impossible to take right measures for the succeeding in any affair of consequence, whilst the impressions of a violent and outrageous Passion are the guides we follow. At such a time, we have not cool blood enough about us, to look forwards to the sequel of a doubtful matter, in which we may have been too precipitately engaged.

YOUR maxim, replies Arfennes, is very sensible and judicious; it reminds me of an adventure, which may serve to confirm it. Margaret de Clifton, Countess of Penthievre, pushed by an immoderate ambition, engaged her four sons to put her in possession of the duchy of Brittany. To forward their success they seized upon the person of the Duke, whom they had decoyed to one of their seats, under a pretence of forming a party of pleasure. They flattered themselves, that, by detaining the

Prince in their own power, they should find friends and force enough to invade his Dukedom: But the action appeared in so black a light, that the persons who were most of all attached to their interest, were ashamed to avow it. All Brittany took up arms to set their Duke at liberty, and besieged the castle where they imagined him to be kept prisoner. No sooner had they made a breach, but the Countess of Penthievre lost all her courage: She began to have a glimpse of the fatal consequences which this outrage of her sons would be attended with, and obliged them forthwith to set the Duke at liberty; apprehensive lest, otherwise, the besiegers should put her to death. Oliver, her eldest son, had the same fears with the Countess; not considering that the head of the Duke would be an ample gage for that of his mother's. Thus infatuated, they release him, after having

obliged

DISORDERS *of the* PASSIONS. 9

obliged him to sign a treaty to their minds. But to this the States of Britany had no regard: They commenced a process against the four brothers, who were condemned to die; they razed their towns, and confiscated their estates, which were purposely given to men in power, to prevent their ever recovering them. Thus was their ambition punished, and they had leisure enough to repent such an ill-concerted enterprize.

CERTAINLY, says Arfennes, we either reason not at all, or always badly, while our Passions are uppermost: Women especially are not to be reduced to reason, if there is any favourite Passion which they want to have gratified in opposition to it: They are then not to be put right, nor even made to know their real interests. The greatest misfortune that can happen to any state, replied Aristus, is

when an ambitious and passionate woman directs the reins of government. She thinks of nothing beyond the establishment of her own power, not at all concerning herself about the publick good. To the maintenance of her authority every other interest must be sacrificed, even to the hazard of her own safety. The ambition of Fredigonde and Brunehaut exposed all France to a terrible confusion. These two women, bent upon each other's destruction, abandoned themselves to the greatest crimes to effect it: But, notwithstanding in their lives they resembled each other, yet they widely differed in their ends. Fredigonde, who had not spared either to assassinate, commit parricide or sacrilege, died quietly, having lived to obtain a victory which secured the kingdom to her son Clotaire. Brunehaut, more unfortunate, met with the punishment she deserved. After having
seen

seen the throats of her grand-children cut before her eyes, she was herself sentenced to death by a general assembly of France, who were unanimous in their cry that she should be made to suffer the most rigorous torments. They put her upon the rack for three days, then led her through the camp seated upon a camel, and afterwards tied her to the tail of an unruly horse, which, in dragging her over the stones, fractured her scull; and, amongst the briars, she was torn in a thousand pieces. Thus is it that God punishes those Princes, who sacrifice all things to their ambition, who prescribe no rule to their actions, but are influenced only by a cruel and diabolical policy.

THE instance you have brought, replied Timanthes, very plainly proves the fatal effects of an unlimited ambition; and would men but endeavour to grow wiser

wiser from the misconduct of others, they would surely divest themselves of their passions, on reflection upon the disorders which they cause. Great dignities have much the same effect upon us with very high places; the head grows giddy to look down. This is the reason why favourites and ministers do often so grossly mistake their own interests, and hasten their own ruin by their ambition and imprudence. The favour of their prince, and the excess of their good fortune blinds them; for however high they may be in esteem, yet all their power vanishes, as soon as he that upholds, ceases to regard them with the same favourable eye. All ages of the world furnish us with memorable examples of these downfalls, but the misfortune is, succeeding times are not profited by them. Cardinal Wolsey lorded it over England in the reign of Henry VIII. who disgraced him, because he
looked

looked upon him as an obstacle to his divorce from his Queen. This haughty Cardinal, who in his conversation was used to say, "I and my King," had the mortification to see himself, in a short compass of time, despised by every body, deserted by his friends, deprived of his office of Chancellor, banished to his bishoprick, arrested prisoner, persecuted in all shapes, and reduced to the last extremity. Presently after his disgrace, as they were bringing him back to London, that he might give in his plea to the crime of high-treason alledged against him, he died upon the road*, a miserable example for the arrogance of all such who abuse the authority of their masters.

A FATAL circumstance attending upon the Passions of great men, pursued Arfennes, is, that they drag after them a

* At Leicester.

number of followers down the same precipice. The Passions of people, in the middle rank of life, act in the circumference of a narrower sphere, and commit less havock; but the ambition, or jealousy of the great, are the most usual causes of the subversions of whole empires. The care of their own particular interests outbalances their concern for the public good, and therefore they make less scruple to sacrifice the commonweal to their ambition. The Duke of Burgundy and the High Constable D'Armagnac were at strife, for the management of affairs, during the reign of Charles VI.; their misunderstanding afforded great advantages to the enemies of France, and favoured their attempts against it. The English, during these dissensions, had already possessed themselves of Normandy, and were upon the point of pushing their conquests more considerably. But the Constable had

had rather have seen the whole state perish than his own power; and the Duke of Burgundy would sooner have suffered the whole kingdom to be hewed piecemeal, than have had it governed by his enemy.

THIS, says Aristus, is the very character of the great; studying only to aggrandize themselves, they sacrifice every thing else to their ambition. They can see the blood of their subjects spilt with indifference; and, provided thereby they can satisfy their own vanity, all the rest goes for nothing. They might perhaps, like good and wise princes, rule over their subjects in peace; but they look upon sieges, battles, and the subversion of provinces, as being necessary to eternize their memory. It is a strange way of thinking, replied Timanthes, to be fond of war, and prodigal of their subjects blood, when the same advantages might

might be obtained from an honourable treaty, that could be possibly hoped for from the compleatest victory. The three sons of Lewis the Debonnaire were engaged in a dispute about the limits of their territories, each striving to encrease his own at the expence of his neighbour's. Lotharius, and his nephew Pepin, were the strongest party, when united. Lewis and Charles the Bald, not willing to expose their estates to the hazard of a battle, spared no pains to prevail with their elder brother, Lotharius, to refer the determination of their differences to a conference. They made him all imaginable concessions, even so far as to offer him their baggage, with a reserve only to themselves of their arms and horses; consenting, at the same time, to surrender to him a part of their estates. These advantageous proposals, in lieu of gaining upon him, confirmed him in the resolution of possessing the
the

the whole. Determining therefore to give them battle, he presented himself in the adjacent parts about Fontenay, near to Auxerre. All the strength of France, the grandees of the kingdom, and the bravest generals were there. Four kings witnessed the glorious actions of that day. Never was a more obstinate engagement known since the commencement of that monarchy, nor one so fatal to the nation ; for an hundred thousand French lost their lives in it. Prince Charles's family never recovered the blow it gave them. However, victory declared itself in favour of Lewis and Charles, who used with moderation the advantages it afforded. They did not put the finishing stroke to it, by cutting off all those of their brother's party, but looked upon them as sufficiently punished for their obstinacy, by the loss of so bloody a battle.

WE are not, says Arfennes, always to confide entirely in the number of our forces, nor our skill in the art of war: A thousand circumstances, which cannot be foreseen, frequently render abortive the best concerted measures, and frustrate the best conducted enterprizes. The greatest generals, who trust too much to their own courage and experience, often disappoint the success of an enterprize by making themselves too secure of it, and neglecting such precautions as prudence would otherwise suggest to them. The Prince of Conde, at the siege of Lerida, caused the trenches to be opened with a band of fiddlers, and sent a message to the Governour, that he meant to entertain him after that manner. The Governour returned for answer, that he was much obliged to him, and would not fail to acknowledge his serenade on the morrow. Accordingly, about the same hour,
he

DISORDERS *of the* PASSIONS. 19

he complimented him with an harmony not altogether so agreeable as his, but which suited better to the times, I mean the dreadful report of his cannons. This discharge was accompanied with a vigorous sally, in which they killed between six and seven hundred Swifs. Never was the Prince of Conde so mortified: He summoned all his wit to repair this repulse; but, in the end, was obliged to raise the siege and retire.

"Tis amazing, continued Timanthes, that men who are essentially endowed with reason, should conduct themselves so little by the light of it. Sense and instinct are their only guides: When action or reason become necessary, they cease, as it were, from being rational creatures. What strange effects have Prejudice and Ignorance upon weak minds! These Passions, however feeble they may appear, are capable of turning

C 2 ing

ing upside down the best framed establishments, when backed by the authority of a power, which men, for any time, have been accustomed to respect.

KING ROBERT had espoused Bertha Countess of Chartres, his second Cousin. Upon which he summons the Gallican Church, to consult upon proper measures for preventing the inconveniences which might happen from the invalidity of his marriage. The bishops, having listened to his reasons, ratified the marriage, notwithstanding it's being forbid by canon. But the Pope, taking it amiss that he had not been consulted, and that the King had not referred himself to his tribunal, excommunicated all the bishops who had approved the marriage, the King and Queen being likewise comprized in this excommunication. Robert, however, did not think himself

himself obliged to obey a sentence so contradictory to the happiness and quiet of his kingdom. The Pope therefore, by a most unheard-of action, a most unparalleled example, laid the whole kingdom under an interdict, forbade any one to celebrate divine mysteries, took away from the living the benefit of the sacraments, and from the dead the rite of burial. The people, frightened to death at this terrible sentence, acquiesced with all possible submission and humility; nay, so punctually did they obey the Pope's orders, that the King found himself, in a few days, deserted by every body, even by his very domesticks, except three or four, who threw to the dogs what they brought from his table. This general revolt forced him to a separation with his Queen, and also to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome, for absolution.

THE times are changed, says Ariftus ; men are not now fo weak and fcrupulous. Thefe thunder-bolts, when launched *mal-à-propos*, scare none but arrant dupes. But, however, it is a proof of what you advance, that we commit ftrange faults when blinded by Paffion. The misfortune is, that this does not reclaim us, replies Arfennes ; that the difgraces which other perfons meet with do not render us more wife. A thoufand remarkable instances might be brought, to apprize traitors of the ignominy they may look for, as the reward of their treachery. They are frequently but badly recompensed by thofe they ferve, who laugh at them when they have reaped the harveft of their treafons. Clovis, wanting to get the advantage of an enemy, by a piece of policy, promifed the principal officers of his antagonift's army, in order to win them to his purpofe, to give them
armour,

armour, and belts with golden buckles; to which temptation they yielded. Clovis, trusting to their treachery, attacked his enemy with open force, charged his troops briskly, and put them to flight. During the hurry of the defeat, the traitors, as they had articed, seized upon their Prince, and delivered him up to the Conquerour with his hands tied behind him. Clovis, to acquit himself in some degree of his promise, sends these officers belts and brassets of gilt brafs. Upon discovering the cheat, they complained to him of it; but were answered, that they might think themselves very amply rewarded for their infamy, inasmuch as they were pardoned their own lives, after so basely selling their master's.

REALLY, interrupted Aristus, it was a mortifying reproof; though, indeed, they cannot be too severely handled who

are capable of such perfidy. But yet I do not approve of Clovis's proceeding: he cannot be said to conquer by fair play, who has recourse to such mean artifices. He differed widely in his temper from that brave Roman, who sent his enemy advice of some traps that were laid for him, telling him, that the Romans would not have it said that they stole a victory.

ALL conquerors, replied Timanthes, are not of the same generous way of thinking with the Romans, nor so scrupulous: Provided they can get the better of their enemies, they care not whether it be by strength or stratagem.

It is not enough to vanquish an enemy, replied Aristus, but a conqueror ought to know how to use a victory, and to set bounds to his good fortune. Actions of cruelty fully the most glorious

rious victory : In the heat of battle they are pardonable, but when committed in cold blood they excite detestation. Charles of Anjou, brother to King St. Lewis, obtained a signal victory over the young Conradin, who was trying all efforts to recover the kingdom of Sicily. This unfortunate Prince was taken prisoner, together with Frederic Duke of Austria. Charles wanting to attend his brother into Africa, and not knowing what to do with Conradin and Frederic, as believing it equally dangerous either to detain or release them, because of the many factions and insurrections in Sicily, he therefore determines to put them to death, as disturbers of the public tranquillity ; and, accordingly, they were beheaded upon a scaffold in the heart of the city of Naples. Had he killed them in the heat of battle, he would not have been liable to any blame ; but this barbarous execution

cution has thrown a scandal on his memory, and made it odious to posterity.

THIS true, says Timanthes, it was an instance of a cruel policy : Princes ought to have more humane sentiments. An act of too great severity is sure to lose a prince the esteem of his people, and to abate their zeal in his service. In the transport of Passion we perceive not the pit we dig for ourselves till our mistake is past remedying. This, says Arsennes, was just the case with Philip de Valois, when he ordered Oliver de Clifton to be arrested, together with ten or twelve Breton Nobles, who attended Charles de Blois to Paris, in order to assist there at a tournament. The King, without weighing the consequences of such an affair, beheaded them all, upon a suspicion of their holding a correspondence with the English. All the world appeared strangely surprized at this violent procedure,

cedure. The nobility, whose blood till now had never streamed but in battle, manifested the strongest resentment at it. The great men of his court shook off their wonted affection to his person; in the loss of which, the King discovered the fault he had committed, by sacrificing so many brave persons to his jealousy.

ONE is not aware of the evils which the Passions are capable of producing, says Aristus, till it is too late to apply proper remedies for their prevention. They hurry us into actions which often leave us to a long repentance, and brand us with eternal infamy. Princes, who cannot circumscribe their ambition, nor place just bounds to an extravagant Passion for enlarging their dominions, will sacrifice all other considerations to it; regardless even of the ties of blood, or their own honour and glory. Clotaire

and Childebert, both sons of the great Clovis, plotting to share betwixt them the kingdom of Burgundy, begged of the Queen Clotilda, their Mother, to send to them the three children of Clodomir, of whose education she had taken upon herself the management, telling her that they wanted to put them in possession of their father's kingdom. Clotilda, who did not suspect her sons capable of the base design they had formed, agreed to their request without the least hesitation. These unnatural princes, having got the young infants in their power, immediately sent Clotilda a pair of scissars and a poniard, giving her thereby to understand, that her grand-children were either to be murdered or shut up in a monastery. In short, Clotaire, in a transport of fury, brutishly seized one of the young princes by the throat, and plunged a poniard into his bosom. The second, frightened at
so

so pitiable a spectacle, prostrated himself at the feet of his uncle Childebert, and, clinging round his knees, conjured him with loud cries to save his life. Childebert, melted at his behaviour, begged of his brother Clotaire not to hurt him; but the barbarous wretch, reddening with anger, threatened to kill him himself, if he made any farther offer to save his nephew; so that he was constrained to deliver up to him the helpless infant, which he murdered before his eyes.

Few people, says Arfennes, carry things to such extremities: But yet we must not entertain too good an opinion of ourselves merely upon this account, for we are certainly capable of committing very great disorders in our Passions. The sentiments which nature inspires us with are suppressed, nor have we time to listen to what reason, virtue,
or

or decorum would suggest to us. One would be tempted to believe there was an uncommon pleasure in committing the greatest crimes and the greatest acts of injustice. We may not, perhaps, be affected with the misfortunes of unhappy people, but yet it is inhuman in any prince to refuse them an asylum, when they implore his assistance, and cast themselves on his protection; when, instead of defending them, he takes the advantage of their bad circumstances, to finish their ruin. The Bulgarians were at war with the Avarois; and, after a great many defeats, were at last reduced to such extremities, that only nine thousand of them were left alive; who, together with their wives, were obliged to fly their country. Not knowing where to shelter themselves from the fury of their enemies, they besought Dagobert to allow them a retreat into some corner of his dominions.

Accordingly

Accordingly he dispersed them in the towns of Bavaria, till he could hear what the states of the kingdom should determine about them. They come to a resolution to have them all put to death in one night's time; which barbarous order was most punctually executed. Cruel policy! interrupted Timanthes; can reasonable beings harbour such sentiments?

THE ablest politicians, pursued Arsenes, cease to act reasonably when they act through Passion. It blinds them from discerning the precipices they tread on, and tumbles them headlong. Provided a man satisfies himself in what he does, he sticks not to expose himself to the greatest perils. Ill usage, oppression, and extravagant satisfactions for trifling faults, blast all the respect and esteem due from subjects to those who rule over them, and oftentimes force them

them to take a cruel revenge for the affronts they have received. Childeric obliged a nobleman, named Bodillon, to stretch himself on the ground upon a stake, and ordered one of his guards to bastinado him. The grandees of his kingdom resented this outrage as much as if they had felt the blows themselves, and thence forward determined to treat him as a tyrant who had dared to treat them as slaves. They formed an ambuscade to surprize him as he returned from hunting; and Bodillon, all on fire to revenge the affront put upon him, massacred the King with his own hand; and, carrying his resentment to the height, he enters the palace, where the Queen was big with child, whom he murdered, together with a little infant which she had in her arms. Such revenge is cruel; but an angry man keeps no measures. In order to repair his injured honour, he has recourse to the
most

most violent remedies, and which load him with eternal shame.

WE have already observed, replied Timanthes, that the Passions are always evil counsellors ; and that we run the greatest risk of losing ourselves, when we follow such unfaithful guides. What faults do they not lead us into, against the rules of prudence, and against the laws of politics ? It seems as though men wantonly renounced their own interests, or else did not understand them. It is always dangerous to drive people to the last extremity, when they offer to submit. They often find, in despair, a remedy which their courage did not look for. All history, antient and modern, is full of examples to confirm this maxim. Charles king of Sicily, incensed at the massacre which the Sicilians had made of the French, whom they had killed, upon Easter-day, in

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every

every part of Sicily, had laid siege to Messina, to revenge this outrage: The King of France and the Pope likewise furnished him with succours. This vast army cast such a terror into Messina, that the inhabitants proposed to surrender, together with all Sicily, if that Prince had known how to set bounds to his wrath, and had accepted their submission. But, deaf to the advice of sound policy, or the dictates of Christianity, he remained inexorable. Despair gave new courage to the rebels, who defended themselves like desperate people, and gained time for the King of Arragon to come to their relief.

THAT prince, says Aristus, ought to have been satisfied with the terms of submission proposed by the Sicilians. The chance of war is doubtful, and therefore we ought not to let slip any opportunity in our favour. Enterprizes
generally

generally miscarry through the indiscretion of those who undertake them; either, because they do not use all the precaution they might, or else that human prescience is so limited, that it is impossible to foresee every thing. I remember an affair in our history which proves what I say. The nobility of France, disgusted by the haughty and proud behaviour of the Queen Fastrade, owed her so much ill-will, that they were determined at any price to shake off her yoke. To guard against the arrogance of the Queen, they formed a conspiracy to kill Charlemagne, her husband, and to set upon the throne one of the King's bastard children. They fixed upon a church for the place of rendezvous, to consult upon an affair of this importance, in the night; but they did not proceed warily enough in searching the church, to secure themselves from every kind of surprize. The conspiracy was discovered by a poor

priest, who had by accident taken shelter in the very corner of the church where they assembled; and they underwent a variety of punishments, due to the nature of their wicked attempt.

WHAT imprudence! replied Arsennes. The affair which those lords meditated required greater care and more exact circumspection. But what foresight is to be expected from people blinded by their Passions? Have not they a bandage before their eyes, which hinders them from perceiving what is visible to the slenderest capacities, when they set about things coolly?

METHINKS, continued Timanthes, there is a kind of fatality in great enterprizes; or rather that Providence, which superintends human affairs, does not long permit great crimes to pass unpunished. Sooner or later treachery is fatal

fatal to those who make use of so unjust a step to aggrandize themselves. If they gain their point for a little while, the end is often unhappy. Theodebert king of Austrasia, a dull prince, and more cruel than brave, waged an inhuman war with Thierry his brother, king of Burgundy. The nobility of the two kingdoms, desirous of extinguishing this fire in it's beginning, framed a meeting for these two Princes at a castle situated upon the Rhine, in order, if possible, to terminate their differences by gentler methods. Thierry came thither, mistrusting nothing, with only the number of attendants agreed on by articles. Theodebert, on the contrary, brought with him an army, and beset his brother; so that, in order to free himself from this snare, he was obliged to yield to him every thing he demanded. As soon as he saw himself at liberty again, he bound himself with an oath to pur-

sue his brother without respite: And he accordingly defeated him in two engagements, and extirpated his whole family. Theodebert was massacred, with his two children Clovis and Merovee. A fatal example to teach princes, that treachery and perfidy are usually destructive to their authority and their dominions.

THE Passions, replied Arsennes, cause the same disorders, in the commerce of the world, among persons of a lower stamp. The man we have once imposed upon sets all engines at work to revenge himself: Nothing chagrines a person more than to see himself picked out for the dupe of others; nor are any pains spared to turn the cheat upon themselves. The Passions of the great are more dangerous in their consequences, because of their abilities to do more mischief. If they are but ever so little
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inclined to cruelty, they have it in their power to commit strange disorders; either to satisfy their own Passions, or to humour the caprice of those for whom they profess a complaisance, however unjust or unreasonable they may be. Austrigilde, the wife of Gontran King of Burgundy, had, upon her death-bed, much the same desire that Herod had. This Princess was resolved that somebody should weep at her funeral; she therefore prayed her husband to order all the physicians, to have their throats cut, who could not cure her last illness. The prince punctually executed her will. All the Queen's physicians were thus massacred, to the end that her obsequies might not pass without real mourning and tears. An extravagant and cruel complaisance, equally as dishonourable to her who left such a barbarous command, as to him who saw it executed.

WE regard nothing, says Timanthes, when we obey the impulse of Passion; we then are capable of great irregularities. We are always in extremes, when led by Passion; even duty itself loses its obligations upon us. Certain it is, that the disobedience of children towards their parents is always blameable; and princes can less pardon these sallies of their children, than people in a lower station, because their undutifulness may be attended with more dangerous consequences. Nevertheless they are not always to carry their resentment to the last extremity; nor is that a proper time to correct a child for breach of duty, while in the warmth of anger. In the life of Clotaire there is a memorable instance of this. Prince Chramne, in order to abridge his father's authority over him, withdrew into Brittany: Clotaire pursued him without so much as giving him time to breathe, or recollect himself;

himself; he forced him to an engagement, routed his army, and took him prisoner. This cruel Prince, deaf to the cries of nature, immediately orders his soldiers to lay his son upon a form, and to beat him for an hour; and, in the conclusion he burnt him, together with his wife and children, whom he had shut up in a cottage for that purpose. Whatever construction may be put upon a judgment of this kind, and upon a revenge of so cruel a nature, yet a parent is always to be pitied, who finds himself in so sad a dilemma.

TRULY, says Aristus, there is no very great difference betwixt a wild beast and man in a violent Passion: He is no longer himself, he makes no distinction between friend or foe, his neighbours or a stranger: He observes no decorum, but confounds all the relations of civil society; and there is ever something
whimsical

whimsical and extravagant throughout his conduct. What is still more unhappy, is, that he is not in a condition to be reduced to reason, nor to be brought to listen to the good advices of his friends. For Reason and Passion are at eternal variance; and this is what makes the cure so rare to be effected.

CON.

CONVERSATION

UPON

M O R A L I T Y.

ARSENNES had a house in the country not far from Paris, which he had taken all imaginable pains to embellish; and had added to the beauties of nature all that art or invention could do to make it still more delightful. Ariftus and Timanthes always passed their autumn at this house, where they used the same freedoms as at home. All the gentry in the neighbourhood made them frequent visits, attracted thither by the beauties of the place, and the agreeable behaviour of its owner, who forgot

forgot nothing to amuse his guests, and make them sensible of the pleasures of the country. Cleander, one of their neighbours, visited them among the rest: He was of a distinguished birth, and immensely rich; had the highest employments at court, and the first rank in the army: He was allied to an illustrious family, and had a wife, young, handsome and witty, and joined to her other accomplishments a high sense of virtue, and an unfulfilled reputation. Yet Cleander is far from being content; he is everywhere uneasy. He is telling you every moment that he is not happy; nor is he so in reality, though there seems to be left for him nothing further to wish for. But it is not enough barely to possess every thing agreeable in point of fortune; there is still wanting a relish for these advantages, to profit from them.

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It must be confessed, says Aristus to his two friends, who were returned from waiting upon Cleander to his coach, that there is in man, I know not what, something incomprehensible; one would think he took a pleasure in tormenting himself, on purpose to make himself miserable. The person you have just parted with is a direct instance of what I say. Cleander has great revenues and a considerable employment: All things smile around him, and yet he is miserable because he thinks himself so, without knowing why. He is incessantly sighing, not in the least affected with his good fortune, but entirely justifies the observation of Horace, that no one is content with his own condition.

THE happiness of life, replied Timanthes, is not wedded to immense riches, nor even to sovereign power itself; all conditions are ballanced. We
might

might be happy at a small expence, if we knew how to moderate, and set just bounds to our desires. In whatever situation a man is placed, he may find within himself wherewithal to make himself happy or miserable. You may not perhaps have made the same remarks that I have done, upon the extreme weakness of Cleander. He entertains such a dread of death, that the very fear of it robs him of all his enjoyments, and destroys his relish for them. I have seen him intrepid in the midst of dangers. He did his duty, like a brave general, at the battle of Sennef: He preserved himself entirely cool in posts, where he was surrounded with a thousand frightful images of death; and yet he is distracted when he thinks of it in his closet.

PERHAPS, says Aristus, in this particular, he is much of the same temper
with

with Lewis XI. That Prince was so afraid to die, and to lose his authority, that it made him commit a thousand extravagancies. He ordered publick prayers throughout his kingdom to prevent the north-wind from blowing, and made a vast collection of relicks, believing they would secure him from death. His physician snubbed him like a valet, and drew great riches from him. He, of his own accord, imprisoned himself in the castle of Pleffis, where no body was to come to him but through a wicket, and the walls whereof were stuck with iron stakes, and lined, day and night, with archers. All these precautions evidently shew, that it is possible to be unhappy, even in a station which we look upon as the soveraign good. But he that commands others, and is notwithstanding a slave to his own caprices, is less free and less happy than his subjects.

CERTAINLY,

CERTAINLY, replies Arsennes, man's happiness depends upon himself, whatever may be his situation in life; but, when we want real ones, we create to ourselves chimerical ills and imaginary complaints. There is in man such a fund of extravagance, that he becomes his own tormentor, when there is no other person to make him uneasy.

THERE is in him, replied Timanthes, no less a fund of malice, envy, and low jealousy: What a number of people sacrifice their own interests, with a view to prejudice those of others? How many chuse rather to meet their ruin, than owe their preservation to another? They do not reflect that it is by their own destruction that they aim to do others mischief. I never read but with indignation, the fraud which the Eastern nations were guilty of to the Emperor Conrad, and Lewis the Young, whilst they

they lay before Damascus, the capital of Syria. The taking this important city might have re-established the affairs of the Christians at Jerusalem. These two Princes were very advantageously encamped, and had reason to hope they should, in a little time, have rendered themselves masters of the place. But the Christians, by a perfidy, the motives to which could never be penetrated, gave the Princes to understand, that they should never be able to take the city, till they had changed the situation of their camps. They, thinking these people sincere in their advice, quitted their fine gardens, where they had all sorts of conveniences, water, fruits, and refreshments in abundance, and transported their camp to the opposite side, into a country dry and parched, and from whence the city was entirely inaccessible. The Emperor and the King discovered, though too late, that the

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Christians

Christians had dealt treacherously with them; and, detesting their baseness, determined upon returning to their separate dominions.

THAT was the way, says Aristus, to punish their perfidiousness. Those Princes had left Europe only to free them from a yoke under which they so long had groaned, and these ungrateful people ill requited a service so important.

METHINKS, replied Arsennes, those Princes were something imprudent in their conduct: They should not have taken a step of that nature, without being well assured of the reason for it. It is a never-failing maxim in Morality, that imprudence ruins the best affairs. The want of forecast in a commander is often more fatal to his troops than the valour of their enemies. I remember to have read, that, during the differences

ferences which embroiled the houses of Foix and Armagnac, the Count of Armagnac had entrenched himself in a city, without providing ammunition and other requisites, to support him against the attempts of his enemy. The Count of Foix invested him therein, and in a very short time reduced him to the utmost necessity. Neither would he grant the Count of Armagnac his life, nor theirs of his retinue, but upon condition they would come out through a hole in the wall, which should be made on purpose, and through which they could not pass but with their bellies upon the ground. Nor did they come off so cheap as even with this indignity: For the Count of Armagnac, and twenty of the principals were not set at liberty, till they had paid large ransoms. I am astonished, interrupted Aristus, that men do not correct themselves by the misfortunes which happen to their equals.

They have so long committed faults, and so often suffered for them, that it ought to make them more cautious of falling into the same snare so frequently as they do.

It is impossible to foresee every thing, replied Timanthes; the eye of human prudence is too narrow to take in at one view all the circumstances of an affair: Besides, it must be owned, that the most plausible designs now and then miscarry by cross accidents, which disconcert the undertakers, and disorder their measures. You remember what ruined the siege of Fontarabia: That one instance is sufficient to shew you how extreme short-sighted human prudence is. The Prince of Conde had made interest to conduct this siege, in hopes this affair would afford him an opportunity to repair the disgrace he had suffered before Dole. Fortune, however, determined to

persecute

persecute him; the city was relieved. — That Prince, having learned from a deserter that the enemy would approach to a certain quarter, he thought it his duty to send thither some fresh troops, to sustain those which were already there. But as he did not send them previous notice of the succours he intended them, and they being under arms because of this approach of the enemy, they took part at it; and, the enemy at that instant appearing, they suffered them to pass through without any opposition. It had been easy for them to have hindered this, as they were so well apprized of their march; but the persons who were jealous of this Prince's glory, were in raptures at the disappointment, and at the mortification which this ill success gave him.

TRULY, says Arfennes, that man must have a large soul, and very refined notions,

notions, who can be sorry for the misfortunes of a state, when those very misfortunes tend to lessen the reputation of a person he dislikes. There is, in the life of Cardinal Richelieu, a remarkable stroke in confirmation of this. Galas had overthrown the French army commanded by Valette, who had all the difficulty in the world to gain Metz with the remnant of his troops. This affair extremely chagrined the Cardinal, who was apprehensive that the people, oppressed with taxes, should cast the odium upon him. His enemies regarded the issue of this matter as if France had had no part in it. The pleasure they took in seeing this Minister mortified, made them forget the glory of the kingdom and the honour of the nation. But when they saw that the Spaniards, flushed by these advantages, had passed the Somme, and laid siege to Corbie, every one awaked himself; even the princes

princes who bore the greatest aversion to the Cardinal, sued to him for employ. All the nobility took up arms ; and the idea of their danger, for a while, suspended their hatred to the Minister.

"Tis thus that men are formed, replied Aristus : Particular interests always outweigh the general. We no longer see the days of the old Romans, when the dear love of country made them sacrifice every thing to the public good. It is the ordinary distemper of the French nation not to like those who occupy the first places in the government. They conceive a malicious joy when their minister is crossed by some ill accident ; not reflecting, that these ill accidents of the minister's are the source from whence flow all the troubles of the nation. The greater is his share of extraordinary qualifications, they do but fix him higher the mark of envy.

ONE may observe every day, continued Timanthes, that great merit, depth of judgment and penetration, address, an extensive understanding, and a genius large and capable of any thing, are qualities often prejudicial to the fortunes of a favourite. Perhaps there was never known a credit more absolute than that of the Constable Montmorency. He disposed of the inclinations and authority of Francis I. at his will. Every body addressed themselves to him, governors, ambassadors, cities, even the parliament itself styling him *Monseigneur*. But, when he was disgraced, though he set all wheels a going to work himself into favour again, yet the King never would recal him to Court. That Prince had some suspicion that the Constable created differences betwixt him and the Dauphin; and took it into his head, that it was dangerous to have a man too skilful in the administration of affairs. He thereupon

thereupon puts the Cardinal de Tournon, and Admiral d'Annibaut into the Constable's place. These persons were not of such an elevated understanding as he was; but were more supple, more dependent, and less interested.

THE King firmly kept the resolution he had taken, never to restore the Constable. He withstood the most subtle attacks upon him, nor could any one ever make him change it. All princes, pursued Arsenes, are not so inflexible as Francis I. Whatever cause of chagrine one may have given to a prince of a generous spirit, his confidence may notwithstanding be regained, if one knew how to touch him in his most sensible part, giving him proofs of a true repentance. The crime of Marshal Biron, in leaguering himself with the Spaniards and the Duke of Savoy against Henry IV. who had heaped upon him

him favours and honours, appeared unpardonable. In the secret treaty they had made together, it was agreed that the kingdom should be dismembered, and that as many sovereignties should be composed out of it as there were provinces, all of which should be under the protection of Spain. The Marshal was promised the duchy of Burgundy and Franche-Comté, besides immense sums of money. The King, however, had intelligence of this conspiracy, and suffered them to discover a little that he suspected something. Byron, touched with remorse or fear, pretended a sincere repentance, and owned to the King, that the refusal of the government of Bourg to him was what had given rise to these thoughts of rebellion, but that they had immediately vanished. He protested, that, had he a thousand lives, he would employ them all to obtain his pardon. The King felt
a secret

a secret pleasure at the Marshal's reliance on his clemency, and freely forgave him : And, besides, very obligingly told him, that he would afford him such marks of his affection, that he should never have any cause to fail in his allegiance.

I AM persuaded, says Aristus, that the best way for a subject who has been wanting in his duty, and engaged in plots against the interest of his prince, is to cast himself on his mercy, giving him proofs of the sincerity of his repentance. But, at the same time, that prince must have a large fund of generosity, and we ought to know it; or, otherwise, we may be often bit by so doing. Nothing vexes a sovereign more, than to see a subject have recourse to a low cunning to deceive him, and fancy that he disguises it so well that his artifices are not detected. How fly soever
he

he may be, one time or other he is caught in the snare, and falls a victim to him he has so long deceived. The ingenuity of Marshal Biron was more fortunate than the double-dealing of the Count de St. Pol, High Constable of France. This artful and politic courtier, the better to assure his fortune, thought it possible for him to keep fair, at once, with King Lewis XI. and the Duke of Burgundy; believing it an easy matter to deceive them both, by making them in turn the same offers of service; exasperating them more and more against each other, persuaded that his own safety depended upon their divisions. The two Princes found out this knavery of the Constable's, and adjusted their quarrel at the price of his head and all he was worth, if they could catch him. The Constable was soon informed of this treaty. He neither wanted interest, nor people devoted to his service, nor money,
nor

nor good places: But his courage and judgment failed him when he most needed them; and, afraid of all mankind, he dare not trust himself to any one. At length he resolves to surrender himself to the Duke of Burgundy, thinking he could better compound matters with him than with Lewis, who he was sure would never pardon him. But he summoned the Duke of Burgundy to deliver up to him that Traitor, and offered him a place in exchange. Thus the poor Constable was sacrificed; and, without giving him time to recollect himself, he was conducted to the Bastile. The parliament condemned him to die, and he was executed at the Grève.

BEHOLD, says Arfennes, an example to apprise the great, what wrong measures subjects take who want to render themselves formidable to their masters, and at the same time to keep well with
their

their sovereign and the enemies of his state. These kind of affairs are delicate, nor can any one engage too deeply in them, without suffering for his ill-conduct and treachery. To be sure, replied Timanthes, one of the most fatal effects of ingratitude, is, to provoke the resentment and hatred of them from whom we have received a thousand good offices ; who, vexed at their bad choice, forget nothing to revenge themselves upon the persons who have abused their kindness. I do not doubt but you know what Cardinal Richelieu did to a young Lord, whom he had loaded with favours, as thinking him incapable of any bad design because of his extreme youth. Besides the having given him the post of Great Master of the Horse, he had fixed him so well in the King's good graces, that he expressed a great regard for him. This favourite, finding himself caressed by his Master, took so high
a plea-

a pleasure in the court which was paid to him, that he resolved upon turning out the very person who had procured him his good fortune. If he could effect this, he flattered himself that the King would give up to him the management of affairs. What doubled his belief of this was, that he thought he perceived the King chagrined at his Minister, because he now and then railed at him in private. But the Great Master of the Horse could not conduct this intrigue so cunningly, as to prevent the Cardinal's suspecting it, who had his spies in every corner: And he thought himself obliged to be his ruin, for such a false behaviour.

PERHAPS, says Aristus, he carried his resentment and revenge too far; though, it may be, he was glad of the imprudence and folly of this young Lord, who was suspected to be hatching something

thing against the government, and against the interests of his Master: And the Cardinal would not let slip this fair opportunity to revenge himself upon a man he had such reason to complain of, and who had dealt so unfairly by him.

It is the common fate of traitors, continued Timanthes. They who rebel against their lawful prince, to side with his enemies, rarely find, in this change of party, the same advantages they had whilst loyal in their duty. It is not long before they repent themselves of a step, which is attended with the ruin of their reputation and their fortune. They, whose service they attach themselves to, regard them only as they are useful to their cause. The Constable of Bourbon fatally experienced this after his rebellion. Charles V. had promised him his sister Eleonora, the widow of Emmanuel King of Portugal, together with the
ancient

ancient kingdom of Arles, and the title of King. But when this interested and politic Prince saw that nothing followed from the Constable's revolt, and that this famous General, who was so rich, so powerfully allied, and so much esteemed by the military men, was regarded merely as a single outlaw, before he could well set his foot out of the kingdom, the Emperor was in no haste to fulfil his engagements. He was afraid to make a banished man his brother-in-law, and only fed him with favourable expectations.

Nothing else must be looked for from men, says Arfennes: They proportion their thanks to the service you can do them. There is not a better proof of the little dependence to be had upon their attachments to you, than that indifference they can shew to those they adored, the moment they cease to be

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further

further useful to them, or when fortune or choice puts it out of their power to do them further services. The same Charles V. you speak of, was punished in his turn for the ingratitude he had shewn to all his own adherents. When he retired into the Convent of St. Justin, to finish there the remainder of his days, he reserved only to himself, out of all his retinue, twelve servants to wait upon him, a galloway to ride out upon, and a pension of an hundred thousand crowns. Scarce had he left the court, and abdicated the empire, than he became no more remembered. It was forgot that there was such a person in the world. His very son thought no more of him, nor the instructions he had left with him. He executed no part of the promises he had made him, but slighted every one whom he had recommended: And, after the second quarter,

quarter, it gave him much pain even to pay him his pension.

IN truth, replied Ariftus, this is an extraordinary instance of the uncertainty of human things, and the ingratitude of men. I do not at all doubt but the reflections which Charles V. made upon the situation he was in, caused his retirement to sit uneasy upon him. Perhaps too, interrupted Arfennes, they made him repent the steps he had taken. But he was obliged to make the best of his bargain, and keep a good understanding with the public. Thus this Prince, who had won so many battles, and who had reigned with such éclat, saw himself, all at once, abandoned by every body, just as if all his merit was lost in the voluntary abdication which he made of his dominions.

THE populace, continued Timanthes, are ever in extremes, with regard to the flattery or contempt they practise towards their governors. So long as a prince remains the favourite of Fortune, the respects they shew him fall little short of adoration; but, if she frowns, all the world desert him. France, as well as Spain, can furnish instances of this instability. When Charles III. surnamed the Big, was observed to be touched in his senses, he was adjudged, by a general assembly of the states, to be incapable of governing the kingdom; insomuch that, from this instant, he found himself deserted by all his subjects, not so much as a valet staying with him to wait upon him. This unhappy Prince must have perished with hunger, had not the Bishop of Mentz took compassion on his misery, and obtained for him an assignment of three or four villages for his subsistence.

CERTAINLY,

CERTAINLY, says Arfennes, one may observe, in the courts of princes, a mixture of great vices and great virtues. As the spirits there are more refined, their vices are more delicate. Then it is they sin with more method, greater artifice, and more design; especially when any singular merit casts a shade over that of others, and eclipses it. The malice of courtiers lets them stop at no crimes, where a man has advanced himself above the rest, in order to debase and ruin him, and to lessen his reputation and the favour he is in. The highest virtue, the purest innocence, the most essential services, are not sufficient to indemnify a man of honour from the intrigues and cabals of his enemies, bent on his destruction.

If you will give me leave, interrupted Aristus, I will mention a piece of our history, which exactly tallies with what

you say. You will do us a pleasure, answered Arfennes, and I will engage for Timanthes as well as myself. After that Admiral Brion, pursued Aristus, had given extraordinary proofs of his courage and conduct in Italy, and had conquered all Piedmont, his officers advised him to besiege Vercelli, where the Duke of Savoy and the famous Antony de Leva had shut themselves up. This was a critical conjuncture: For the Admiral had no express orders from Court to break with the Emperor. Now Antony de Leva had signified to Brion, that if he laid siege to this place, the Emperor would look upon such a procedure as a manifest rupture. This consideration withheld the Admiral; and his enemies upbraided him for it with cowardice, in not daring to attack Antony de Leva, who passed for the greatest captain of his time. The King himself, though he had given him no order to besiege

siege

siege the place, was extremely out of temper, and received him coldly at his return. This affair, in which it was plain the Admiral was in no fault, ruined all his credit, and sunk his reputation. The Constable and the Cardinal of Lorraine combined to undo him, notwithstanding the great power of the Duchess d'Estampes, who patronized him; and hereto they accused him of badly conducting the King's affairs in Piedmont. Brion, instead of giving way to the torrent that was ready to overwhelm him, haughtily told the King, that his innocence feared no scrutiny. The King, however, ordered him to prison, and appointed commissaries over him, who amerced him in seventy thousand crowns for embezzling the public treasure. Brion was so astonished at a sentence thus disgraceful to him, that his grief thereat killed him.

THE Court is an incomprehensible place, says Timanthes : One cannot always render one's self agreeable there, though backed with extraordinary talents, great merit, and great services. Such éclat dazzles the jealous eyes of courtiers, who can never pardon that man whose merit effaces their own. But the Admiral ought, in good policy, to have yielded to the times, and not to have behaved himself with so much haughtiness, when all were thus set against him.

AN overbearing behaviour, replies Aristus, can never succeed towards persons jealous of their power, and who require gentler treatment. They are easily brought to comply with what is wanted from them, by mild usage, and a trifling deference to their way of thinking : But it is sure to exasperate them irretrievably, to find themselves
opposed,

opposed, and treated with a mistaken arrogance. Had Pope Boniface VIII. managed with more gentleness the fiery spirit of Philip the Fair, they might have terminated their differences in a more amicable manner: But his too hasty procedure occasioned great disorders both in church and state. The Pope was a man of parts, but withal haughty and imperious: He persuaded himself that all Christian princes were bound to acknowledge his authority. Philip the Fair, a young prince very little scrupulous, and by no means the most patient, advised by a set of people daring and impetuous, and who flattered him upon his vast power, did not think himself obliged to pay any great regard to the orders of Boniface. The Pope, wanting to compel all kings to confederate for the holy war, enjoined, upon pain of excommunication, that the kings of France and England, who

who were at war together, should commence a peace. Philip the Fair sent him for answer, that he would receive the law from no one in regard to the government of his own kingdom: That the Pope might, if he thought proper, use his good offices, but had no right to command. This was the first cause of enmity between these two great powers.

THINGS were carried a little too far, interrupted Arsennes. Boniface received a great mortification, and his too-impetuous zeal occasioned him a long repentance.

THEY who do not know how to govern their own passions, pursued Timanthes, are very unfit to command others. They are hourly exposed to the contempt and raillery of every one who sees their foibles, and thereupon
does

does not think himself obliged to keep well with them. On the contrary, a man who is entirely master of himself, and can get the better of his passions upon nice occasions, deserves the highest encomiums, and fills with admiration the witnesses of his virtue. When Viscount Turenne forced the Castle of Sobre, some of his officers brought to him a lady of exquisite beauty, whom they found in the place. He was at that time young; but, pretending not to see into their design, he commended their discretion; and, sending immediately to find out the lady's husband, he restored her to him in their presence. That victory, says Aristus, did more honour to Monsieur de Turenne, than what he had got over his enemies. There is greater glory acquired by subduing one's self, than in winning the greatest battles. For the finest victories

tories are not always those where the most blood is shed.

IT is at all times to be remarked, replied Arfennes, that the compleatest victories remain long of no use, before they yield to the conqueror all the advantages that might be expected from them. Whether it is that they grow weary of fatigue, and seek some repose, or that they like to change the scene, instead of pursuing their present point. This was the fault which Henry IV. committed, after the battle of Coutras. The Royalists there were entirely defeated: They lost their artillery, baggage, and standards. Almost all their Heads were killed, and five thousand men were left upon the spot. Had not the King of Navarre given time to the vanquished to recover themselves, their party would have found it a difficult matter to have retrieved the
check

check it gave them. That Prince signalized his bravery in the engagement ; but it was plain he knew not how to make the best use of his victory. Instead of briskly pursuing the enemy's army, who was under the utmost consternation at their defeat, he disbanded his own ; and, keeping up only six hundred horse, he repaired full speed into Gascogne, whither he was attracted by the charms of the fair Countess of Guiche, of whom he was a passionate admirer. This was not the only fault, continued Timanthes, which his love of women led that Prince into. It was his reigning passion ; nor did he take the least precaution against the bad tricks it might play him. Though he often became the dupe of it, nothing could ever cure him.

IT is now a long time, pursued Arfennes, that mankind have been preached

ed to upon the disorders of love. Daily experience might teach them the consequences of this dangerous passion; but we content ourselves with knowing the evils it occasions, without endeavouring to remedy them. An intriguing woman, and hasty withal, if not prevented, will proceed to the utmost violences, when she thinks her amour discovered. Fredigonde carried on a criminal correspondence with a young Lord of the Court. Chilperic had many reasons to suspect the Queen's conduct, and was imprudent enough to let escape him some marks of his resentment and jealousy. The Queen, in order to guard against the evils which threatned her, got the start of them. She caused the King to be murdered by an assassin, in the court of his palace at Chelles, as he returned from hunting, in the dusk of an evening, and but thinly attended. His murderer struck
2 him

him twice with a hanger. It was very imprudent in Chilperic, interrupted Timanthes, to let his uneasiness be seen. As soon as he had cognizance of the Queen's intrigue, he should have dissembled his chagrine at it, 'till he had taken proper measures to provide against her despair; because he often had had experience of the violence and cruelty of that Megæra.

IF you will be ruled by me, says Arfennes to his two friends, we will break off our conversation, and take a turn or two in the walks. Meantime I will impart to you some remarks I have made this morning on a very curious book, which treats of the different people of Europe, and the customs they observe. There is in it a very singular law of the English, with regard to their women; which is, That, notwithstanding a married man should be absent above a
year

year from home, yet, provided he goes not out of Great Britain, should his wife in the interim be brought to bed, he is obliged to father the child as his own, and as such to take care of it. It is a very convenient law for the fair sex, says Timanthes, smiling: It is a covert to the womens reputation, but the men do not find their advantage in it, and the poor husband is the cully.

EVERY country has it's particular customs, replied Arsennes. The things which usage authorizes never appear strange, however whimsical they may be. The same author takes notice of a very facetious custom which certain kings of Guinea observe in their eating and drinking. They eat in one apartment, and go to drink in another. It is as much as one's life is worth to look upon them whilst they are eating; and this prohibition extends to
brutes,

brutes, as well as men. A young child of the first minister's of state, being one morning asleep by the King's side, happened to awake whilst that Prince was eating, and the poor infant was immediately put to death; neither it's age nor innocence being able to preserve it from this barbarous law.

WITHOUT doubt, says Aristus, these customs favour of the barbarism of the climate: But yet I can believe that many of our customs appear as barbarous to those people, who regard us with as much compassion, and as great disdain.

There was a certain prince in Africa, pursued Arsennes, who had a court so numerous, that they every day killed two hundred men to feed upon. These were most of them criminals and tributary slaves; and they dressed the flesh

of these unhappy wretches as if it had been beef or mutton. An open shambles was kept there for human flesh. It was through a refinement of barbarous delicacy that they made this cruel carnage, for the country itself abounded with cattle, and all sorts of provisions.

THERE is no accounting for taste, says Timanthes, but such a one appears very extraordinary to me. I should hardly believe a man could bring himself to eat human flesh, but through the most extreme necessity, or when he had no other way to save his life but by so strange a remedy.

Do you know, asked Arsennes, whence came the custom for the Turks to carry horses tails by way of standards? I believe, answered Aristus, it is in memory of an action performed by six thousand of their people, who had been made prisoners,

prisoners, in the beginning of their conquests. They had found a favourable opportunity to recover their liberty, but, not having any standards to range themselves under, they bethought themselves of the expedient to lift on high some horses tails; and, this stratagem happily succeeding, they have ever since carried something to resemble it. Is it true, asked Timanthes, what is commonly reported of that nation, that they have no nobility in Turkey, but are all upon an equality? The first nobility, answered Arsennes, are they who hold the chief employments in the army or state, and who commonly rise to them from being slaves, and rarely of Turkish extraction. In that particular then, replied Timanthes, there is some resemblance between the Turks and the Romans: For, amongst them, the nobles was linked to the magistracy. They who had the exercise of it, and their

descendents, were the only nobles. Nobility, being annexed to offices, could not be procured by money. In France it is the blood which ennobles, or indeed nobility may be bought, by purchasing certain fiefs and particular employments. Let us leave the Romans and Turks to themselves, says Ariftus, and go to meet Cleon and Theagenes, whom I fee at the end of that walk, advancing haftily towards us.

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CONVERSATION

UPON

POINTS IN POLITICS.

AS soon as Arsennes, Ariftus, and Timanthes were difengaged from the number of visitors they had had, they renewed their ufual chat, which had been thus interrupted by company. General converfations, for the moft part, turn upon vague fubjects, fuch as news and current reports; mere trifles, which are neither worth the hearing or telling: It is not therefore to be wondered at, if people of fenfe, and indued with tafte and reafon, fhould grow tired at them. But it is ftill worfe when the

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converfation

conversation becomes satirical, when we either rail against all mankind, or single out some one of the company to make ridiculous.

ARISTUS, Arfennes, and Timanthes entertained one another in a way more inoffensive, and much more beneficial. They did not amuse themselves in censuring the weaknesses of humanity, nor in declaiming against the vices or hardiness of the age: They studied only how to profit from the times, that they might put the last hand to the methods they had all along used to improve and civilize themselves. Aristus had received a letter from a friend of his, an ambassador in one of the principal courts in Europe, and who supported his character with much dignity and state. This letter was filled with many excellent maxims, which plainly intimated that the writer of it was a person

person deeply skilled in politics the most delicate and refined.

INTRIGUE and Address, says Aristus, directing himself to Timanthes, are necessary for a man who would conduct himself well in foreign courts. Whomsoever a prince fixes on for an employ of this importance, he should have a ready and engaging wit, a heart open and sincere, and which should seem easy to be penetrated, but yet ever close and reserved in it's own motives and projects; a judgment firm, solid, and decisive in matters; a vast capacity to unravel things the most intricate, and a thorough knowledge of the cause he is engaged in, to prevent his being imposed upon. For all his views, maxims, and refinements should have for aim not to be deceived; not to be made the dupe of those with whom he negotiates.

THE rules of Politics are not infal-
libile, replied Timanthes. Men of the
greatest talents forget themselves very
often. They are not enough masters of
themselves and their own secrets. But
this openness of temper leads them in-
to many errors and false steps, which
ruin their designs, and are greatly pre-
judicial to the interests of their party,
Admiral Coligny lost himself the Queen's
good opinion by his excess of confidence
in the strength of the Hugonot * party.
He laid himself more open than he
should have done to a Princess so artful
and politic. One day he demanded of
her churches for two thousand five hun-
dred ecclesiastics. This proposal surpriz-
ed the Queen; but, as she was a subtle
and dissembling woman, she disguised
her real sentiments, and only charged

* Hugonots termed Hereticks by the Catholicks, and
persecuted on account of their being professors of the re-
formed religion.

the Admiral to inform himself how many soldiers his party could furnish her with upon occasion; fully resolved, for the future, to take proper care of a faction which appeared to her so formidable, after the insights Coligny had given her.

It was not that this Chief of the Hugonots wanted address, replied Arsennes, but he suffered himself to be dazzled by the prosperity and great strength of his party. This sufficiently shews how limited are the views of human prudence, since the most crafty and ablest politicians fall into snares, which it would give others no trouble to foresee and avoid with lesser abilities.

I was reading this morning, interrupted Timanthes, a piece of history which proves what you advance. After that the Duke of Burgundy had caused
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the Duke of Orleans to be assassinated, he had reason to suppose that the persons whom it concerned to revenge this murder would never truly pardon him, and that all the reconciliations they pretended to offer him were but little sincere. In effect, the Dauphin had amused him with a false treaty, to lure him into the net he had spread for him. The Duke was advised from all quarters to keep himself upon his guard; but, whether hurried along by his evil destiny, or that Providence required of him his cousin's blood, he came however to the rendezvous agreed upon betwixt him and the Dauphin. Whilst he was upon his knees before the Prince, Tanneguy of Chattel, seconded by some hired ruffians, rushed out of their ambuscade and stabbed the poor Duke, who was but badly supported by his own attendants. Many people believed this action to have been committed without

without the privity of the Dauphin, who was then but seventeen years old: However, it wounded his reputation as a murderer, a character abhorred by all the world. An extraordinary circumstance in this affair was, that they proceeded against the Dauphin as if he had been merely a private man. He was cited to the Marble-Table, the parliament declared him unworthy of all succession, adjudged him to have forfeited the crown of France, and banished him the kingdom for ever.

HAPPY was it for the Dauphin, says Aristus, that this arret of parliament was without any effect. They who issued it had a little exceeded the limits of their power: They had more consulted in it the warmth of their zeal than the dictates of reason. I remember an arret which was issued by the parliament of Paris, upon a very pressing occasion,
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and which had all the success that could be expected from it. France was thought to be in great danger, when the Spaniards, having surprized Amiens, Paris was become the frontier town. Instead of seeking remedies to this threatening evil, the factions which had troubled the kingdom so long began to revive. The greatest part of the gentry, idle spectators of these disorders, made no attempts to suppress them. The parliament was obliged to publish an arret, which set a mark of infamy on all who did not appear on horseback upon this important occasion: And the dread of shame had that effect upon the dispositions of the French, which the love of glory and the interest of their country could not obtain from them.

THIS is no more than what generally happens in these revolutions, replied Arfennes. Some look on upon the misfortunes

fortunes of a state with a tranquil and indifferent eye ; whilst others view them with a malicious pleasure, either through the hopes of profiting from these intestine broils, or to satisfy some private grudge they bear towards them who govern. There are those who are wicked enough to lead their country into measures entirely destructive, at a time too when every one should unite for it's preservation. He must be deeply versed in Politics, who can be able to distinguish betwixt those who consult the good of their prince and their country, and them who seek the ruin of both by their self-interested counsels. When princes are not possessed of this discerning faculty, they are apt to commit the greatest mistakes. This it was which occasioned the ruin of Valentinian. Ætius was the sole support of the Western Empire, which was shattered and weakened on every side ; but the
Emperor

Emperor Valentinian, misled by bad advice, harboured a strange jealousy against this great Officer, whom he himself had raised, and who was the terror of his enemies, and he caused him to be barbarously massacred. But this unhappy Prince suffered for his own cruelty and imprudence; for he himself was murdered the year following by the friends of Ætius. Maximus Petronius conducted this intrigue: He was a rich senator, whose wife Valentinian dishonoured. Maximus, after he had committed this parricide, possessed himself of the Empire, and the Empress Eudoxia, whom he married. But this Tyrant's felicity endured but for three months: For he was imprudent enough to impart it to his Bride, that he himself was the author of Valentinian's death. The Princess, to revenge herself for so cruel a wrong, cast herself into the arms of Genferic king of the

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the Vandals. As soon as this Prince appeared at the gates of Rome, the people fell upon Maximus, and slew him. Genferic, however, sacked the city, and carried away the Empress as his captive; thus punishing her, even in procuring her reparation. The eagerness of this Princess to revenge herself was the entire destruction of the Western Empire, which fell a prey to the Barbarians. The imprudence of Maximus, who had the weakness to reveal a secret of this importance to a woman, shews how difficult it is to support the weight of greatness. One is in such a manner dazzled by this high elevation, that a man remains no longer master of himself, nor of the movements of his soul.

CERTAINLY, continued Timanthes, Ætius deserved a better fate. He was the greatest captain of his time, and the

the best affectioned to his Prince. Upon a thousand occasions he had given the most convincing proofs of his courage and fidelity. Princes cannot possibly do too much for them who have been serviceable to the state: They cannot keep too well with them, if it is but to prevent the ill consequences of their resentment. It is not one of the least concerns of a prince to be able to withstand the cabals which are formed against their best servants, who have raised themselves by their merit. Francis I. totally ruined his affairs in Italy, by listening to the bad impressions they wanted to give him of Doria's loyalty. He had demanded, in recompence for the great services he had done, that they should replace the Genoese in the possession of Savona. The Marshal de Montmorency, who was at that time in favour, could by no means approve of this restitution, because the customs
which

which arose from the port of Savona came into his coffers. When this affair was laid before the council, Chancellor Prat, who was in the Marshal's interest, rejected the proposal, treated Doria as haughty and insolent, and advised them to have his person attached. Doria was informed of the resolution which the council had taken, and threw himself into the arms of the Emperor, who was glad to take away so good a subject from France.

WHAT parts and penetration are necessary, says Aristus, to discern the secret springs which direct men in the advice they give you! It is equally as dangerous to pay a blind deference to every one's opinion, as it is not to listen at all to the advice of any, but to guide one's self wholly by one's own caprice. Princes, who are fond of doing every thing themselves, and want to have it

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thought

thought that to them alone is owing the glory of their successes, very often let slip the fairest opportunities, rather than submit to be advised: As if they were angry that any one should presume to know more than themselves. When Charles V. came before Valenciennes with thirty thousand men, being apprized of the march of Francis I. he dared not wait for him, but decamped as fast as possible, under favour of a very thick mist. The Constable of Bourbon was for falling upon the Emperor's army in their retreat, but the King rejected his advice with an air of scorn; and yet, in all his life, the King never had so fair an opportunity to insult over the Emperor, although he sought for it every where. It seems as if Fortune meant to punish him for neglecting to improve the advantage she offered him. Where a person is not liked, replies Arfennes, his advice is sure not to be kindly

kindly received. The Constable's motion was founded upon experience. All skilful commanders agree, that an army runs the greatest risk of being destroyed, when it makes any vast movement in sight of a powerful enemy, and one that knows how to take advantage of particular junctures. The incumbrance of their equipage, and other circumstances, never fail to throw troops into disorder, whilst they are thus wholly intent upon their retreat. This it was which lost the Constable of Montmorency the battle of St. Quintin: He attempted to retire, at noon-day, in full view of the Spaniards. The Duke of Savoy, who commanded, attacked him so suddenly, that he had not time to give orders for the engagement. The cavalry was presently routed; the infantry stood firm for a long time, but was at last entirely cut to pieces. The Constable himself, with one of his sons,

the Dukes of Montpensier and Longueville, the Marshal de St. André, six knights of the order, and three hundred gentlemen were made prisoners. Never was any victory more glorious to Spain, nor more fatal to France.

It is right, says Timanthes, to lay hold of all circumstances in our favour, and to improve every advantage which chance may give us, in a war open and declared: But it is a sort of cowardice to abuse the ill success of an enemy, when no longer in a state to defend himself; and to go about to oppress him more, when already enough crushed by his own bad fortune. When Philip-Augustus and Richard king of England embarked for the Holy Land, they agreed betwixt themselves to suspend all their quarrels, to leave all their differences in the condition they were, and to put off their disputes
about

about their rights 'till after their return from this holy expedition. Nevertheless, as soon as Philip understood that the Emperor had made Richard close prisoner, he sent away into Germany to negotiate with the Emperor, that he would keep him there as long as ever he could; and, forgetting his word to Richard, not to renew the war 'till forty days after his return, he rushed upon his lands, and took several places of importance, whilst that unhappy Prince lay languishing in a tower at Worms.

THIS bad policy, pursued Arsennes, caused a deal of trouble to Philip, and promoted a grudge betwixt him and his Rival, which introduced seas of blood. A prince who loves his ease and quiet, finds it more to his purpose to pass over slight offences, than to be every moment obliged to put a force

upon his temper by an affected severity. Nevertheless it is to be feared, that sometimes this supineness emboldens turbulent and hasty spirits to engage in attempts which wound the sovereign authority.

It is in war much the same as in law-suits, replied Aristus; we enter into them inconsiderately for the sake of some slight advantages, but cannot finish them till after having expended immense sums, which weaken families, and reduce them to great necessity. So too we embark in wars, upon frivolous motives, which cost a world of people their lives, and desolate whole provinces. The last Duke of Burgundy thought it a fit time to declare war against the Swiss, who were then at variance with the Count of Savoy. The subject of their difference was a cart full of sheep-skins, which the Count
had

had taken away from them. The Swiss were at that time only peasants, little known; but they possessed all the boldness of a savage liberty, and were not at all softened by the luxury and vices of their neighbours. The Duke of Burgundy lost in this war his infantry and equipage: He had eighteen thousand of his men killed. He likewise lost his own life, and the grandeur of his house became extinct with it.

UPON my word, says Timanthes, it was a cart of sheep-skins dearly sold. It shews with what caution princes, as well as private men, should engage in dubious matters, where consequences are not to be seen into at once. Before we undertake any affair of importance, it would be better to weigh the honour and benefit we promise ourselves from it, against the expence we must be at to succeed in it. It is not enough that an

enterprize be honourable, there should, besides, be some advantage accruing from it. Never was any siege more famous than that of Ostend. Those of Tyre and Saguntum, which have rendered Alexander and Hannibal so renowned, fall infinitely short of it. It lasted three years and two months. The Spaniards expended in it above ten millions, they lost there sixty-six thousand men, and played off above three hundred thousand cannon-shot. During the siege, Prince Maurice took from them the towns of Rhimbergue, Grave, Ecluse, and Ardenbourg. When the Spaniards made their entry into Ostend, after that Spinola had forced the town to capitulate, they found every thing either shattered to pieces by the cannon, or turned upside down by their mines and works; and they perceived they had paid too dearly for a heap of rubbish: So that, if

if the glory of this exploit was great, the expence of it was immoderate,

THE trade of war requires vast circumspection, replied Arfennes: It is impossible to keep too much upon one's guard, to obviate events, or at least to foresee them. When we think ourselves too sure of a victory, we neglect to take the necessary precautions for it; and, by that means, lose many battles with a great superiority of strength, which it would have been easy to have gained with a smaller army, had measures been better conducted, and men not suffered themselves to be led away by a blind presumption. At the battle which King John fought with Edward at Poictiers, he looked upon victory so certain, that he slighted all the submissions of his enemy, who offered him satisfaction for the damages which his troops had done in the kingdom. Had the King pleased,
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he might, without any hazard, have surrounded and starved the English; but, full of resentment and boldness, he determined to attack them in their camp. Through the highest arrogance, he caused all his gendarmery to alight, who were presently broken by a body of the enemy, which rushed briskly upon them out of their intrenchments. To add to the misfortune, the King's four sons, who were at the engagement, were carried off too hastily by their governors. Their retiring in this manner served as an excuse to the poltrons for quitting the field of battle, under a pretence of escorting the princes, and to favour their retreat. There was only Philip, the youngest of the four, who stood the engagement, determined to partake of his father's fortune. The valour of the King, for a long time, sustained the strongest efforts of his enemy; and he might, without doubt, have gotten the victory,

victory, if but half his troops had done their duty.

It is evident at all times, says Aristus, that too great prosperity dazzles the understanding, and hinders men from pursuing proper measures to better themselves from the disadvantages which Fortune throws in their way; and the fickle Goddess is sure to turn her back on all who neglect to make a good use of her favours. Charles VIII. as he passed to the conquest of Naples, traversed all Italy, and they received him every where as their lord and sovereign, without the trouble of his sending harbingers to provide him lodgings. He subdued all the kingdom of Naples in fifteen days: Which surprizing good fortune so dazzled the young King and his council, that they took no care of any thing. Most of the cities which had set up the
French

French standard returned to their old masters, for want of some one to receive them in the King's name. His favourites, to whom he gave the governments, squandered away the ammunition of the places, his soldiers lived at free quarters, and the nobility treated the people with insolence, instead of easing their complaints, as they had promised them; insomuch, that their affection to the French quickly changed into hatred. The King and all his court, which was full of young people, spent their time in dancings, banquetings, plays, and airings; whilst the Venetians, the Pope, the Emperor, the Archduke, and the King of Arragon, were acting in concert to obstruct the conquests of the French, who were therefore constrained to give up every thing, and to open themselves a passage sword in hand, for their return into their own country.

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IT is a received maxim with all military men, continued Timanthes, that something must be yielded up to Fortune, to stop the fury of a powerful enemy, in certain conjunctures, where an over-precaution might prove very destructive. In the mean time, it is now and then better to give up the flat country, than to hazard a battle, the success of which is uncertain, and the loss of it might endanger the republic. The English, under the command of General Knolles, after having plundered Vermandois, Champagne, and Brie, burnt the suburbs of Paris. Their trumpets were heard even at the Louvre: But yet neither the smoke of these flames, nor the noise of their instruments, could induce the King to risk the hazard of any thing, not so much as to suffer a single soldier to stir out; because his party were extremely out of order, and the English superior in numbers. He
commanded

commanded his troops, in the night-time, to lodge in their holds; but, in the day-time, to go after the enemy, to harrafs them without ceasing, falling upon such as had dispersed themselves, and curbing them in such a manner, that they were neither able to procure themselves victuals or forage. Thus, by little and little, he wasted their vast army, and reduced it to nothing.

PEOPLE too credulous, or too suspicious, says Aristus, are often liable to be imposed upon with false alarms, by means of forged letters, which they cause to be intercepted, and which their enemies purposely let fall into their hands. It is a ticklish snare, and requires judgment and penetration to guard against it. When the Emperor besieged Milan, which the French defended in the name of Francis I. he had some suspicion of the fidelity of
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the Swiss, whom he had brought along with him. Lautrec, the Milanese governor, failed not to strengthen these surmizes by counterfeiting some letters, which he drew up in such a manner, as if they had come from the camp of the Swiss. These he let fall into the hands of the Emperor's spies. He, learning from these sham letters that the Swiss had a design of delivering him up to the French, looked upon himself as every hour in danger of being betrayed, and thereupon decamps in a great hurry, and gave over his attempt. The Chevalier Bayard, continued Timanthes, made use of the same artifice to save the town of Maiflers, which he had defended 'till it could possibly hold out no longer. The place was hard pressed on one side by Sickingen, and on the other by Nassau. The Chevalier Bayard stood it out vigorously, but he must at last have been obliged

to capitulate, if he had not thought of an expedient to cause a division between the generals of the enemy's army: And this was by having letters intercepted, which contained that Nassau, through jealousy, had placed Sickingen in a disadvantageous post, in order that he might be cut to pieces. This letter answered Bayard's expectations: The German fell into the snare. From that time he thought more on his own preservation, than on forming attacks; and, as they found means of getting fresh succours into the place, the enemy was obliged to retire, notwithstanding the town was open on every side.

It is always observable, pursued Arfennes, that no good understanding can long subsist in an army composed of many different nations. The troops furnished by allies are often more troublesome than serviceable. These foreigners only
consult

consult their own advantage, and give themselves but little pain about the real interests of the cause they engage in, and which they pretend to assist. When affairs do not succeed according to their intentions, their zeal grows cold, and they act but faintly. In the Duke of Mayenne's war with Henry IV. had the King of Spain pleased, he could easily have put an end to this quarrel, by causing the Duke of Parma to enter France with his troops, and to have joined the Duke of Mayenne. But the King of Spain's intentions were, to suffer France to ruin herself by her own forces, to the end that he might more easily dismember some province. He gave the Duke of Mayenne nothing but small assistances and fair promises, with much parade. This, however, made the Duke never place any hearty confidence in him; for the troops which he did supply him with were merely acted upon by

the springs of Spanish policy, and gave him more trouble than they did him service.

So flourishing a kingdom as France, replied Aristus, may at any time support itself, when undisturbed by civil commotions : But, such is the condition of petty states, that they cannot uphold themselves but by balancing the too great power of their neighbours ; who would never want a reason to quarrel with and invade them, if they could not find protectors capable of sheltering them from the insults intended. It was with this view, replied Timanthes, that the republic of Venice at first acknowledged Henry IV. for their lawful king, maugre the oppositions of the Pope and the Spanish Ambassador. This feignory, which perfectly well knew her own interests, found that she had occasion for this power, to oppose it to that of Spain, which

which began to grow formidable to her, and which she could not check unless France would serve her as a counterpoise.

DURING treaties, cessations of arms, and conferences, says Arsennes, then it is we ought to be most of all upon our guard, to prevent any surprizes: For what could not be obtained by open force, has been often succeeded in by a well planned device. The Count of Senlis, in order to draw Lewis Ultra Marine into the snare he had laid for him, who was greatly desirous of re-annexing Normandy to his crown, made him believe that the whole province wished this re-union; and that, if he would come thither in person, they would deliver up to him the governor of the duchy, whom they looked upon rather as an usurper and a tyrant, than as having any lawful claim to the possession

sion of it. The King, abused by these ill-grounded hopes, marched directly into Normandy at the head of his troops. The Norman Prince, sensible of his own weakness, had recourse to a stratagem. He demanded a conference, and affected to appear greatly intimidated. The King granted the conference, and came to it accordingly, at the village of Crescenville, between Caën and Lisieux. The Norman had taken his measures so well, that, finding his own the strongest party, he cut in pieces all those who accompanied the King, seized upon his person, and sent him prisoner to Rouën.

THIS procedure was not fair, says Aristus: It does not tell well of the Norman. They who pretend to greatness of soul, and true courage, never stoop to artifices so low and shameful. Ordinary people indeed, when they want

to gain a point, care not by what means they compass it.

METHINKS, interrupted Timanthes, we have discoursed enough upon this subject; were we to undertake to exhaust it, we should never come at the conclusion: Besides I have begun upon a book which I want to finish to-day. Before you withdraw, replied Arsennes, I would beg of you to answer me a question: Whether or no it is good policy to trust a woman with state secrets? This is a nice step, answered Timanthes. It is ever dangerous to communicate any secret of importance to a sex whose natural weakness, jealousy, and other passions often make them speak against their own interests, and the interest of their party. Numberless instances might be produced, but I will pitch upon one out of a thousand. Charles V. had got a great way into Champagne, with a numerous

army, which must have been inevitably lost, because the troops of the Dauphin, which pressed him close on every side, had cut off his provisions and forage, but that the intrigues of the Duchesse d'Estampes preserved them. She could not regard with a favourable eye the credit of Diana of Poitiers, the Dauphin's Mistress; and, upon that account, supported the Duke of Orleans's interests, against those of his brother's. This jealous woman revealed the secrets of the King's council to the Emperor; and, by that means, made it easy for him to render himself master of Epernay and the castle of Thierry, where he found provision in abundance, without which succour he must have perished.

You must tell me yet, pursued Aristus, what you think of the refinement of those politicians, who find fault with the religious establishment, and are for banishing Monks from the common-wealth,

wealth, as a useless set of people to any state? I am not of their opinion, answered Timanthes: These retreats afford a great relief to families, which would be overburdened with children, if they had not this resort. I can tell you too, that the labours of the religious have been very serviceable to France. She had been laid waste, by the frequent incursions of the barbarians, her fields were become deserts, all grown over with thorns and wood, and her low countries were hid under standing waters: The religious orders, who had not embraced an estate so holy with a view to lead an idle lazy life, applied themselves, without ceasing, to till the ground, to plant, and build; not so much for themselves, who had engaged in a very sober way of living, as in order to maintain the poor, and release the captives: Insomuch, that these savage and frightful deserts were, in a short time, chang-

ed into places fertile and agreeable*. Just as Timanthes finished these words, one came to inform them that Cleobulus was come to wait upon them. He was the son of a famous minister of state, but who had been disgraced; though his misfortune had rendered him as eminent, as he had been before celebrated for his great talents, and the high favour he had enjoyed.

It is rare, says Timanthes, to see ministers, who succeed such favourites as have abused their authority, and have been precipitated from that high fortune which had rendered them insolent and insupportable; it is rare to see those who succeed them correct themselves by their misfortunes. Our history affords us a remarkable instance of this

* This one instance of their service to their country, as a body corporate, proves but little as to the general utility of their order, with regard to religion.

in the person of Ebroïn. He was Mayor of the Palace, in the reign of Clotaire, and carried his insolence so far, as to oblige the Queen Batilda to leave the court, and shut herself up in a cloyster, to the end that he might engross the sole management of affairs. His pride, his avarice, his cruelty, and his treacheries were intolerable to every body. He took away, with impunity, the effects of all whom he disliked; he exposed justice and great offices to sale; he turned out the great men whom he found about court, and forbade others to come there without his leave. Without waiting for the assembly and approbation of the French, he placed Thierry upon the throne. This incroachment tried their patience to the utmost, and they sent exprefs to Childeric, to tender him the kingdom. This prince marched some good troops to their relief. All the people testified vast joy at his arrival; infomuch

insomuch that Ebroïn saw himself, in a moment, abandoned by all mankind, and forced to seek an asylum at the foot of an altar. Instead of putting him to death, the French, touched with a foolish pity, contented themselves with shaving him, and confining him to a monastery, to do penance there. But he came out again a little time after, in a different reign, and sacrificed a world of people to his revenge. It is dangerous to suffer an enemy to live, after having done him any very great injury.

ALL these disorders, replied Arfennes, frequently come to pass through the weakness of those who govern: They give too much power to certain people who make an ill use of it; and this they do through a shameful complaisance to the persons they are fond of, and whom they dare not refrain within the narrow bounds of duty, for fear of giving them

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uneasiness.

uneasiness. The haughty and imperious temper of Queen Constance occasioned, every hour, a sensible affliction to Robert her Consort; who, notwithstanding, behaved to her with the utmost complaisance, to try if he could not pacify the bitterness of her spirit. One day, amongst other things, she conceived a strange disgust against one of the King's favourites, named Hugh de Beauvais; and, not remaining any longer mistress of her passion, she applied to Count d'Anjou for his assistance to revenge herself. The Count sent her twelve gentlemen, who assaulted Hugh, as he was hunting with the King. Without respecting the Prince's presence, they seized upon the Favourite, and cut off his head upon the spot; although he begged of them, in a very pressing manner, to spare the life of a person who was so dear to him. It is impolitic in husbands to pay too blind a regard to their
their

their wives, in things which exceed their province; that, where an ill-judged indulgence may have rendered them too haughty and presumptuous, a proper degree of resolution becomes necessary to be exerted, to reduce them again to due bounds.

CON-

CONVERSATION

U P O N

HEROIC VIRTUE.

ARSENES conducted Aristus and Timanthes into his closet, where he shewed them a great many medals, and portraits of persons who had signalized themselves by their merit: As, of the Count Dunois and Longueville, General of the armies of France in the reign of King Charles VII. surnamed the Victorious; of Lewis of Trimouille, Governor of Burgundy; of Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours, Viceroy of Milan; of Charles du Coffa, Count of Brissac, Marshal of France, Lieutenant-general
of

of the King's armies in Italy; of Ann of Montmorency, High Constable of France; of Francis of Lorraine, Duke of Guise; of Cardinal Richelieu, and many others, who had acquired to themselves an immortal fame by their Heroic Actions.

It must be owned, says Arfennes, that but few persons are capable of Heroic Virtue; nay, there are but very few who so much as know what it means. The generality of men content themselves with observing a medium in what they do: Their courage fails them upon great occasions, and their virtue seems to faint and sink beneath the weight of affairs. I believe too, replied Timanthes, that men often want the opportunities to make their virtue known, and to display their courage. The life of man exhibits a series of actions simple and uniform, and in which there is but little need of any Heroic Qualification. We are not
every

every day fighting of battles; and the conduct of armies is intrusted but to few. It is not only in war, replied Arfennes, that true courage is necessary, we stand in need of it every moment of our lives, to enable us to bear up under the misfortunes that happen to us, without expressing our weakness in complaints: And to accommodate ourselves to the extravagance and caprice of certain troublesome people, with whom we are obliged to live. If, out of prudential reasons, we want to dissemble at the liberties which ill-designing persons may take with our characters, it is often more to our purpose to affect a partial blindness at their behaviour, and so not to understand their whole meaning, than to come to an open eclairsissement of it.

It would be hard to reduce your maxim to practice, replies Aristus: Few people

people are so far masters of their resentments, as not to discover some tokens of vexation at slights put upon them, or where any thing has been said of them which wounds their reputation. Nay, there are certain opportunities, where nothing but an act of spirit is wanting to silence detraction and envy itself, and to bring back to their duty such persons as forget themselves, and break in upon the rules of decency and respect. In proof of what I have advanced, I will mention an exploit of one of our kings; who was far from being paid all the reverence his due; until, by this Heroic action, he raised the admiration of every one. The French Lords used to pass jokes upon his person, and held him in great contempt, because he was of a stature less than ordinary. He was very sensible of this their behaviour, and determined to let them see that he had more strength and courage, than those
huge

huge bulks, which have often nothing besides their appearance to recommend them. It was a custom with the kings of France, to divert themselves with the combats of wild beasts. One day Pepin, surrounded with his courtiers, saw a lion of a prodigious size, which, having rushed furiously upon a bull, had reduced him to the last extremity. The King, addressing himself to the lords who were about him, observed, that it was necessary for somebody to engage the lion, to make him quit his prize: But not one dared expose himself to the peril. The King, having remarked their astonishment, threw himself into the lists, without the least hesitation; and, taking his cutlass in his hand, he marched strait up to the lion, and, at one blow, which he gave him with as much dexterity as force, he separated his head from his body. The Prince, turning towards his lords after so bold a deed, "Well," says

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he to them, with a becoming fierceness, "Think ye, that I am worthy to command you?"

I FANCY, continued Timanthes, that his courtiers had not a word to say for themselves, after what the King had done. Conscience would reproach them for their own lack of courage; and, I dare say, from that time, they would become more docile in their obedience to the King, and would no longer think of ridiculing his diminutiveness of stature.

THIS good awaits an Heroic temper of mind, replies Arsennes, that it, in a moment, reconciles people to their duty, by the admiration it excites in them. Notwithstanding the desperate appearance of things, a bold resolution can change the face of affairs, and give the superiority to a party, which, seemingly,

is lost past retrieve, and which every one thinks reduced to its last extremity. At the time that the Duke of Mayenne supported the remains and broken remnants of that League, he had, as it were, block'd up Henry IV.'s army within the walls of Dieppe, by seizing upon all the little towns round about. He flattered himself that he could invest, and intirely hem him in: He wrote word every where, that he had got the Bearnois shut up in a place, from whence he could not possibly escape but by casting himself into the sea. The King was really frightened by the timid councils of those about him, and deliberated with himself, whether it would not be more advisable for him to take shipping, and save himself in England. He was just upon the point of so determining, when the bold remonstrances of Marshal Biron, who had a good deal of credit with him, forced him upon other measures: which

were, to march strait up to the enemy, notwithstanding the inequality of their forces. He gained the battle, and obliged the enemy to raise the siege of Dieppe. The Parisians, deceived by the Duke of Mayenne's letters, had looked upon him as irretrievably ruined; or, at least, that he must have been constrained to pass into England: But what was their surprise, to see their suburbs carried in less than an hour, by the King in person, and above 800 of the chief mutineers killed upon the spot! These great exploits were followed by the taking of the towns of Estampes, Vendosme, Alençon, Mans, Falaise, and Lisieux; and, moreover, by the reduction of many whole provinces.

THIS same Prince gave no less a proof of his Heroic disposition, at the battle of Yvry, where he obtained a compleat victory. Above ten thousand of the enemy were slain upon the place. This
happy

happy success he owed solely to his own courage, which appeared to still greater advantage in the plain of Fontain-Françoise; where, with an hundred and fifty horse, he sustained the effort of the whole army of the Constable of Castille, which was composed of 18,000 men: The King, like a thunderbolt of war, overthrew all who were bold enough to oppose him. But what I esteem more truly heroic than all these martial exploits, was the kind manner with which he graciously pardoned all his enemies, who had so sensibly wronged him. None were excluded the benefit of his favour, but such as were determined not to accept it, and continued obstinate in their rebellion.

I AM not less affected, continued Timanthes, with that invincible courage which he shewed during his ill-fortune, and under the disgraces which so fre-

quently happened to him, and which the bad situation of his affairs made unavoidable. The spirit and courage of persons, above the common level, never appear to so great advantage as in adversity. Their misfortunes seem to furnish them with fresh lights, and dangers but increase their resolution. That ill success which terrifies and disconcerts men of moderate parts, revives the ardour of Heroic souls, and furnishes them with the means to recover themselves from the difficulties in which they are engaged. Admiral Coligny, after the battle of Moncontour, in which his army was defeated, his infantry cut to pieces, and wherein he lost his artillery and baggage, retreated in good order. With what he could get together of his troops, he stopped the pursuit of the conquerours, who scarce reaped any benefit from so compleat a victory; and he provided for the safety of all the towns.

towns. That very evening on which he lost the battle, he sent express to the German Princes, to the Queen of England, and to the Swiss, to advertise them of his defeat, and to demand fresh supplies of men and money. In short, after so great a check, which might have intirely ruined his affairs, he saw himself in a condition to make head against those who had overcome him, and who could not profit themselves from their victory. Instead of pursuing, without respite, his frightened troops, which by this means they might have compleatly dispersed, they set themselves about a siege, where this victorious army spent itself. So that it is not always right to follow the old maxim, "Never to leave an enemy's town in our rear."

I AM confident, says Arsenes, that adversity is the touch-stone of Heroic

Virtue. Great power of spirit is necessary to sustain certain reverses of fortune, when they become seemingly irretrievable, and, morally speaking, beyond remedy. What is most of all grievous, says Aristus, is, when these misfortunes come upon us by our own fault, and through our own want of foresight. Now and then particular disgraces happen to us, into which, methinks, we are drawn by a kind of fatality. Had we used but never so little precaution, we might have easily saved ourselves harmless; but we never bestow a thought upon the matter, until the evil becomes above our reach to remedy, and no farther help remains. It was terrible news to Henry King of England, when word was brought him that his three sons, and the Princess his daughter, were all lost at sea. They embarked at Barfleur with 300 gentlemen, amongst which were the most experienced officers, and
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all the flower of the nobility. The sailors who conducted them had made themselves drunk with the money, which they had imprudently bestowed upon them just before they took shipping. These sots, in going out of the harbour, split their vessel upon a rock, and the Princes and their attendants miserably perished.

THESE strokes are not to be guarded against, says Timanthes; they are the special appointments of Providence, which makes use of secret ways to punish men, or to make them wiser, or else to manifest the Omnipotence of the Deity. Every time I think upon the fate of the brave Count de Montfort, I cannot help admiring the sage counsels of God, who permitted this invincible warrior to be slain by a woman. He signalized his courage upon a thousand hazardous occasions, both against the English and the Germans;

mans; but, above all, in the war with the Albigenſes. All the princes, who took up the croſs to exterminate theſe Heretics, named him, with one voice, their General. The Count de Toulouſe, chief of the Heretics, had called in the King of Arragon to his aſſiſtance, who joined the army of the Albigenſes with near an hundred thouſand men; inſomuch, that they were fixty to one. The Count de Montfort ſeemed not at all daunted by theſe odds, but diſpoſed himſelf for the battle, notwithstanding the remonſtrances of ſome of his officers, who would have diſſuaded him from fighting them, with forces ſo much inferior to the enemy. However, he attacked them. The King of Arragon was ſlain in the beginning of the action, which threw his army into ſuch confuſion, that they gave ground on all ſides in a moment. Above 20,000 of the enemy were ſlain; and, what appears
incredible,

incredible, not above ten or twelve of the crusaders perished in the engagement. This Hero was not so fortunate at the siege of Toulouse: He was wounded with an arrow in the thigh, in making a fall; and, as he was retreating, a woman of the city hit him with a stone, hurled from an engine, with such violence, that it severed his head from his shoulders,

THIS Hero, replied Aristus, deserved a better fate, and a death more honourable. There is a particular in his life which is very remarkable: He laid siege to the city of Beziers, which he carried by assault, and put all to the sword he found therein, in order to strike terror into the rebels, and force them into submission. This example of severity intimidated the other towns. Carcassonne believed she was strong enough to oppose the conqueror; but she

she was besieged, and attacked so briskly, that the inhabitants were constrained to surrender at discretion, with a rope about their necks, and their waists naked. He was more rigorous still in his punishments towards them of Cartelnaudari, who made a shew of resistance: For the Count picked out an hundred and fifty of the inhabitants, the most obstinate amongst them, and caused them to be burnt.

I CANNOT help pitying those conquerors, says Arsennes, who find themselves obliged to practise such great severity, in order to reduce men to reason. Provided we can remedy disorders, the means we do it by signify nothing: We may wish indeed to effect it by mild usage and lenity, but this is a cure not always to be depended upon. People, who have once broke through their duty, are not to be brought back
to

to it, but by examples which come home to them, and make them feel their fault. The inhabitants of Rochelle, and the neighbouring isles, had revolted, on account of the gabel which Francis I. wanted to establish in those parts: The King went thither in person to calm these troubles: He entered with his army into Rochelle, and caused to be brought thither a great number of the seditious, fast tied and bound with cords. After having cast the people into the utmost consternation, he began to relent; and, when he had made them sensible of the fault they had committed, by a discourse equally tender, majestic, and eloquent, he entirely pardoned them. He set all the prisoners at liberty, and ordered his soldiers to depart the city; nay, for that day, he determined to be guarded and served at table by the citizens. A procedure so generous covered them with confusion, and produced

ced in them a poignant remorse for the mutiny they had stirred up.

HEROIC VIRTUE, replied Timanthes, has a marvellous ascendent over men: It is a secret charm which it is scarce possible to resist. There is a beautiful instance of this sort in the life of the Constable de Clisson. The Duke of Bretagne was envious of his merit, and could not look upon him but with an eye of jealousy: He made use of a stratagem to detain him prisoner in the Castle de l'Hermine, neither did he release him, but under the promise of being paid a considerable ransom. No sooner did the Constable find himself at liberty again, but he set about revenging the affront he had suffered. He made war with the Duke of Bretagne, and took a great many important places; till, at length, he reduced the Duke to reason, and forced him to sue for peace. After
this

this was concluded upon, he came to see him in full assurance, as though they had never been enemies, and brought back his son along with him, who had been sent to him by way of hostage: He rendered him all the honour and respect that was his due, as being his Sovereign Prince; who, on his part, received him with all demonstrations of a sincere good-will, and loaded him with praises and caresses. Great souls, pursued Ariftus, easily resume their characters. Although the interests of the state, or their own particular ones, may oblige them to disagree, yet true heroes know how, upon proper occasions, to suspend their quarrels and animosities, and to live together in a perfect good understanding. Nothing ever gave me more pleasure, or more affected me, than to see Monsieur de Guise and the Prince of Condé sup and lie together, just after a battle, in which they
had

had left nothing unessayed for each other's destruction.

JEALOUSY and distrust, replied Arsenes, are passions too mean to find room in a hero's breast. They can easily believe all the world like themselves; and, as they suspect no deceit, they do not always take the necessary precautions against it. The Borgians had given great hopes to Cardinal d'Amboise, that they would employ all their credit to raise him to the popedom. As soon as Pope Alexander was dead, the Cardinal came to Rome with the army of the King his master, who had resolved upon recovering the kingdom of Naples. The presence of such a military power had greatly awed the cardinals in favour of Cardinal d'Amboise. But Cardinal Julian, under a pretence of zeal, advised him to cause the French army to retire, that the princes and foreign cardinals might

might have no reason to say, that this promotion was made rather through fear, than through any consideration of the Cardinal's personal merit. He added besides, that no one could believe the Holy Ghost to have presided at an election, where the votes had been extorted through fear. Cardinal d'Amboise believed this advice sincere, and caused the French army to leave Rome; but he did not as yet understand the cunning and artifice of the Italians: For no sooner were they delivered from the soldiers, but they elected another pope; and Cardinal d'Amboise found, too late, the cheat they had put upon him.

PERSONS of a noble and elevated way of thinking find themselves so incapable of these tricks and finesses, says Aristus, that they cannot even suspect them in others. It is true, great personages ought never to stoop to base actions, or

to any meannesses that may subject them to censure: But, if they should happen to forget themselves so far as to do it, much less ought they to have the malignity to throw the blame of their own faults on their dependents, merely to disculpate themselves towards the public. Lewis XI. whilst he was only Dauphin, wanted to engage Anthony de Chabannes, Count de Damartin, to assassinate a man he had conceived some disgust to: The Count would not be concerned in the affair. The King, the Dauphin's father, was informed of the bad designs of his son, and severely reprimanded him. But the Prince, to excuse himself, intimated to the King that Chabannes was the suggestor of this villainous design. This he boldly disowned to the King's presence, and offered to justify himself from it by combat, with as many of the Dauphin's gentlemen as dare undertake

take his cause. The King, upon this, saw into the malice of his Son's intentions; conceived a due resentment at it, and banished him his presence.

ACTIONS cannot be corrected with too much severity, continued Timanthes, whose baseness reflect dishonour upon princes, and expose them to the contempt and ridicule of their people, who are sure too, critically to examine them, and to pardon no error they can lay hold of. I have known persons, of the most generous way of thinking, sometimes to sink below themselves, out of necessity, and the disorder of their affairs. The straits to which they are reduced hurry them, sometimes, into actions unbecoming their genuine greatness of soul: Not but that then it is one ought to shew it most, in bearing up against ill-fortune. King John, in order to get out of his confinement, made a very disadvanta-

geous treaty with the English; and, not knowing where to raise the money to pay his ransom, he saw himself constrained to stoop to a meanness, which incurred a greater stain to the honour of France than even the treaty of Brittany itself. For six hundred thousand crowns, he sold his daughter Isabella to John Viscount de Milan, in order that he might marry her to his son Galéas. There are certain conjunctures, replies Arsennes, so cross, when a man finds himself constrained to force his own natural disposition, to accommodate himself to the times. It is in such a situation that noble minds are to be pitied, when an overbearing necessity compells them to act counter to their own more elevated sentiments.

PERHAPS I may be mistaken, continued Timanthes; but, methinks, we see no more those great examples of Heroic
Virtue,

Virtue, so frequent in the time of the Roman Republic. It may be that courage degenerates, or we have not the same occasions to exert it ; or else, it may be, that a republic is a state better adapted than monarchy for the exhibition of Great Virtues. We do not find, amongst ourselves, any examples of the frugality of a Curius. This brave Roman commanded the army with Fabricius when Pyrrhus was defeated. After he had gained three battles, and three times triumphed, he died so poor, that his daughters were obliged to be married at the expence of the commonwealth. The ambassadors, deputed by the Samnites to wait upon him, found him boiling of rapes : They offered him the gold they purposely brought ; but he could answer them, that he had rather command those who had it, than possess it himself. No one is ignorant of the action of Horatius,

who flew his sister for lamenting an enemy to Rome, whom he had vanquished. Brutus, who drove out Tarquin the Proud, condemned his own sons to death, for holding intelligence with the dispossessed King, and had himself the courage to be a witness of their punishment. Manlius Torquatus shewed a still greater instance of severity, in the Latin war. He had forbid all combats without leave from their Chiefs: His son, however, having been challenged by one of the enemy, did not much trouble himself about his Father's orders, but fought his challenger, and slew him. Manlius, for this, had his head cut off, in the presence of the whole army. What can be conceived more great and noble, than that procedure of Camillus! He had laid siege to a town in Tuscany, when a wretch, to whose care all the youth of the city was intrusted, delivered them up to him; but

but Camillus sent him back to the enemy to receive his deserts, and restored them their children. The uncommon act of generosity so struck the inhabitants, that they voluntarily surrendered to him. In Pyrrhus's war with the Romans, his physician proffered himself to Fabricius to poison his master: But Fabricius, far from accepting his proposals, advised his master of it; at the same time intimating to him, that he was more fortunate in the choice of his enemies than of his friends. What a resolved steadiness discovered itself in every Roman, when the Gauls took their city? The young men retired to the Capitol, resolved to defend it to the last extremity; the old ones determined to await their deaths in their own houses, and not to survive their country. They who held employments in the magistracy robed themselves in the ensigns of their dignity, and stood thus attired

at their doors for the Gauls to be their executioners. Can any thing be conceived more truly Heroic, than to see a people vanquished and weakened by the loss of two battles, yet refusing terms of peace, though proposed by the victor himself? They would not accept of them under their disgrace. The ambassadors of Pyrrhus, who brought presents for the Roman ladies, could not even prevail for their acceptance. Do we see, at this time of day, men whose characters can approach to Scipio's? It was he that vanquished Hannibal at the battle of Zama, in Africa, and pulled down for ever the power of Carthage. To the science of war he had joined a perfect knowledge of the belles lettres.

I AM not at all of your opinion, interrupts Arfennes; for I am thoroughly persuaded, that we want not modern instances

instances of men, whose skill in the liberal sciences and military art falls nothing short of Scipio's. The Roman only has the advantage of antiquity on his side, which is apt to inspire us with a certain veneration for the heroes of former times, which we lack towards the moderns. In what instance of frugality is Monsieur Turenne outdone by your Curius, whom you boast so much of? After so long a time that he has commanded the army, he has nothing augmented his patrimony, contented with the bare acquisition of glory, and to have rendered his name immortal. He did not indeed dress rapes for his dinner, like Curius, but we find him contenting himself with as slender a repast, and submitting, with an Heroic Patience, to all the inconveniences of war. Our history too can furnish us with an example, parallel to that which you have produced of Manlius Torquatus, in that
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of the Mareschal de Caffé; who, during his command of the French troops in Italy, condemned his nephew, the young Boiffi, to die, for having mounted to the assault, contrary to the orders he had received, not to do it till the trumpet gave the signal.

SUCH an Heroic Ardour is very commendable, pursues Aristus; but, after all, valour, like all other virtues, has it's degrees. What very well becomes a young officer, who wants to signalize himself, would not at all become a general, whose reputation is already established by a thousand proofs of his courage and conduct. When Monsieur Turenne besieged Dunkirk, Marshal d'Hocquincourt was desired to reconnoitre the lines of the besiegers. The Marshal, who was brave, could not content himself with making the usual advances; but, acting the young man, as
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if there was any necessity for him to shew his courage, who had given so many proofs of it, he exposed himself in such a manner that he received a musket-shot, of which he died two hours after,

THOUGH courage is an habitual virtue, replied Timanthes, yet experience furnishes a thousand instances of persons, the most remarkable for their intrepidity, whose hearts have failed them upon certain occasions. Ancient and modern history abound with examples of this sort. Demosthenes had often braved, at the bar, the puissance of Philip. He was naturally bold, and feared not death: Yet, at the battle of Chaeronea, observing the front ranks to grow thin, he took fright; and, seized with a false panic, demanded quarter of a rush that had caught hold of his cloaths, thinking an enemy had pursued and stopped

stopped him. This same Demosthenes, resuming his character, chose rather to die than surrender himself to Antipater, Alexander's successor. As he took the poison, in the presence of Archias, who was pressing him to submit to the King, and promised him a kind treatment, he finished his life with these words: "Tell your Master, that Demosthenes will owe nothing to the Tyrant of his country." An answer, says Ariftus, perfectly spirited, and worthy that Orator. If he seemed afraid at the battle of Chaeronea, it was not that he really wanted courage or intrepidity. One single adventure is not sufficient to lose a man of honour the character which his behaviour, on many perilous occasions, has acquired him.

THERE are, says Arsennes, certain actions so equivocal, and which wear such a double face, that they will bear a good

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or bad construction, according as one is affectioned towards them. Persons of an equitable turn will always judge favourably of a man who has given frequent marks of his valour and courage, whilst envious and interested people will be led to decide according to their passions. In the morning of the battle of Yvry, much fault was found with Marshal de Biron, for remaining at his post without making any motion, and taking his share in the danger: But your connoisseurs judged quite otherwise, and looked upon his cold-blood appearance only as a mark of that perfect cognizance he had acquired in the trade of war. He commanded one of the principal squadrons of Henry IV's army, and was supported by a good infantry; yet he remained firm and immoveable, regarding the engagement without any emotion, and as if he had no part in it, though the King and the
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other generals were strongly engaged in the battle. The countenance of Biron contributed more than all the rest to the victory: For the more knowing commanders of the enemy, observing his posture, dreaded the storm with which that cloud threatned them; and, despairing of victory, lost at the same time all their courage. The King, who understood pretty well the art of war, admired and commended the Marshal's inaction, and particularly thanked him for the service he had done him upon this occasion. In the presence of all his officers, he was pleased to say, That Biron had acted the true general, himself the soldier.

I do not know herein, continued Timanthes, which is most to be admired, the Marshal's prudence or the King's goodness; who though, in the battle, he had performed prodigies of valour,
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yet thus wanted to make himself appear indebted for the victory to the good conduct of one of his generals.

So then, replies Arsennes, bantering, you commence an admirer of modern virtue. It was your tone, just now, that our times could not furnish any great examples of Heroic Virtue, so frequent in the Roman Republic. Whether it is out of mere caprice, or reason, I know not, replies Timanthes, but I declare myself on the side of the ancients. For, amongst them, you do not find virtue confined to individuals; but, visibly resident in an entire people, one spirit seems to animate the whole. What courage the Carthaginians displayed, when, in the attack of their city, the Roman consuls commanded them to abandon it, if they meant to save their lives! This injunction appeared to them so cruel, and so inflamed them, that they resolved

ed rather to endure the utmost, than submit to such an outrage. Immediately they ran to arms by consent, resolute to defend themselves, though hopeless to overcome the efforts of the Romans. Asdrubal's wife, upon this occasion, gave a great mark of her courage, or despair: Taking her two infants in her arms, she mounted to the top of her house, and from thence precipitated herself into the midst of the flames, which effected the general conflagration of the city.

HER husband, the famous Asdrubal, interrupts Arsennes, had less courage than herself; who, after all the harm he had done the Romans, had the cowardice to surrender himself at the head of forty thousand men, instead of selling dearly his life, and nobly burying himself in the ashes of Carthage. It is a stain, indeed, to survive one's country,

country, or to see it in fetters, after having so long disputed the empire of the world. But it must be owned, that the ancients were formed out of the same composition with the moderns; and that, at all times, there is in man a mixture of vices and virtues, which balance each other. The Romans, all Roman as they were; often had recourse to stratagems and artifices, to subdue their enemies, and sometimes made use of means not altogether to their honour. Their own historians have reproached them for the conduct of their consuls towards Viriatus, who had stirred up the Portugueze to revolt. This man, who was artful and cunning, from a follower of the chace, had turned robber, and from thence had got himself made general of an army. For fourteen years he molested the Romans, and made head against them: He ravaged with fire and sword all he met with in

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the borders of the Ebre and Tagus. He had even the boldness to insult the Prætor's camp, and was almost ready to defy the whole Roman army. Pompilius, who had a strong passion to subdue him, dishonoured his victory by his treachery. For, at the very time he was proposing to submit to the Romans, he had him basely assassinated. The historian adds too, that the Roman general thus procured his enemy the greatest glory, as it left an impression that he was not to be beaten fairly.

You see then plainly, says Aristus, addressing himself to Timanthes, that the whole of Heroic Virtue is not collected in the Romans only, but that the people they could treat as Barbarians, were as capable of it as themselves. What can be conceived more grand and truly heroic, than the resistance the Numantines made to the ablest generals of Rome.

Numantia

Numantia had neither walls nor fortifications, and was only defended by four thousand Arragonois ; and, for fourteen entire years, it sustain'd the attack of forty thousand Romans, and obliged them to dishonourable treaties. This city obtained, through all the world, the title of *Invincible* ; so that, in order to reduce it, they were forced to have recourse to the Destroyer of Carthage. He it was that gained a great victory over them that threw them into despair. Their courage turned to fury, and they took a resolution to perish all together by a horrible kind of death. They set fire every where, to burn themselves in the midst of their city ; insomuch that not a single citizen of Numantia remained to adorn Scipio's triumph.

I do not disagree with you, replies Timanthes, when you say that the whole of the people are not capable of He-

roic Virtues; but then you must accord with me thus far, that the body of the Romans, in this respect, have surpassed every other nation. A proper junction of address to mere valour is very commendable, and simple stratagem is always allowable towards an enemy. When Marius fought the Teutones, at the foot of the Alps, as they were falling into Italy, he made a movement that separated his army from the river, so that the soldiers suffered for want of water. Already they began to murmur; but this able General, shewing them the river, whose banks the enemy had occupied, "See!" says he to them, "there is water, if you lack not courage: It depends upon yourselves to drink." Thirst exciting their valour, they cast themselves with fury on the enemy, whom they cut in pieces, and made a terrible carnage. The same Marius, on the point of attacking the Cimbrians, in
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the Rhodian Field, knew so well how to take his opportunities, that he got a signal victory over them. He made choice of a foggy day, proper for a surprize: The wind too happened to blow violently; which he taking the advantage of, the dust shot itself with such impetuosity into the enemies eyes, that their defeat became absolute. Above sixty thousand of them fell, whilst the Romans hardly lost three hundred men.

THEY did not come off so well, rejoins Arsennes, in the war with Mithridates. That intrepid King of Pontus cut the throats of a hundred thousand Romans in Asia. The Senate, irritated at his cruelty, declared war against him; but he remained obstinate and bloody. The Romans, who had defeated Pyrrhus in less than four years; who had ruined the fortunes of Hannibal, and overthrown Carthage in seventeen, found

employment for forty against Mithridates. At length they reduced him to the utmost extremity, after having gained over him three great battles. He found it impossible to resist the superior genius of Sylla, the valour of Lucullus, and the courage and good fortune of Pompey. In the battle which he lost against Lucullus, he made use of an artifice which prevented his total defeat. He ordered those who fled with him to scatter in the roads the baggage and the money, to amuse his pursuers. The soldiers accordingly, greedy of booty, attached themselves more to the spoil than their pursuit of the flying enemy.

THE Fates reserved for Pompey the conquest of Mithridates, replies Timanthes. He made a bridge of boats, upon which he passed the Euphrates, an invention, till then, unknown to the Romans ;
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and, by this means, prevented the diligence of Mithridates, and joined him in Armenia. Every thing favoured Pompey's enterprize. He surprized his enemy by night; who, having the moon in their backs, pointed their javelins at their own shadows, instead of the Romans. Mithridates could never repair this rout, but dragged after him, from province to province, the broken remains of his army. Wearied out at length with misfortunes, the sword did the office of poison, and put an end to his life.

THEY who have made reflections on the manners of the Romans, pursued Arsenes, have remarked, that the excess of their riches corrupted the purity of their virtue, and plunged them into all sorts of vices. After their conquest of Syria, and that King Attalus made the Roman people his heir in Asia, those

very men, heretofore so temperate, and so inured to hardships, gave themselves up to luxury and pleasure, the effects of their opulence. Then it was that, in canvassing for high offices, they began, by large presents and dint of money, to try to carry votes: Then too, they invented public shows, to win the favour of those whom they wanted to their interest. It has been observed too, that the excessive power of the tribunes gave the principal rise to those seditions, which, in the end, laid waste the empire. Tiberius Gracchus, a tribune of the people, was the first who lighted up the link of discord. The nobles abused their power and credit, by invading with impunity the heritage of the populace. Gracchus undertook their defence; but he was abandoned by the very men he meant to protect, and put to death as he fled towards the Capitol. It often happens, says Aristus, to persons
imbarking

imbarking themselves in affairs of so delicate a nature, that they are the first to turn their backs upon them, whose advantage was the sole inducement to their thus exposing themselves.

It is not to be denied, replies Arsenes, but that the Romans possessed great virtues, and to an eminent degree; but it must be owned too, that their vices counterbalanced them. Nothing could be more unjust than all their wars with their neighbours, undertook purely to usurp their lands, and to render themselves masters of the universe. Romulus began with an act of notorious violence, and repugnant to the law of nations. He sent ambassadors to the Sabines to demand their daughters in marriage; but they not chusing to listen to the proposal, the Romans had recourse to an artifice. They appointed publick sports and carousals at Rome,
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and invited the neighbouring people to assist at these spectacles. They going accordingly, without thinking any harm, or distrusting the snare that was laid for them, had all their young maidens seized and carried off. The parents and relations reproached the Romans with this violation of justice and hospitality, and took up arms to punish an attempt so base.

If a country happened to lie convenient, they would immediately find a pretext for invading it; and, even though they could not find reasons to colour their usurpations, that would not prevent their proceeding. In this manner they invaded all Italy, where nothing could withstand the force of their arms. After the conquest of Italy, their first enterprize was against Sicily. The Romans and Carthaginians were equally tempted to invade it: For these

two nations, rivals of one another, aspired to the empire of the world. The Romans, under pretence of succouring their allies, attacked Messina and Syracuse, and defeated the naval armament of the Carthaginians.

THIS, replied Aristus, was the occasion of the first Punic war. Polybius reproaches the Romans for violating their alliance with the Carthaginians, and making themselves in so unjust a manner masters of Sardinia. The same Author maintains the lawfulness of the second Punic war to be on the side of the Carthaginians; as the Romans had drove them out of Sardinia contrary to all right and equity. They had, however, replies Timanthes, a very reasonable pretence; which was, their obligation to succour the Saguntines, whom the Carthaginians had besieged.

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BUT they themselves, resumes Arfennes, might easily have answered that objection, as the People of Saguntum were not at all allied to the Romans at the time that they made an alliance with the Carthaginians; so that they could not be comprized in the treaty. Civilians must determine when alliances may be broke or not; but it seems an odious business. By this too, the very liberty of retaliating their wrongs is taken from the Carthaginians: And, although the Saguntines had really been the allies of Rome, yet Hannibal was justifiable in attacking them, for their harbouring and abetting his enemies.

BUT you must confess, says Timanthes, that the Romans had right on their side in the third Punic war. If you examine closely into the matter, answers Arfennes, this war has no more shew of reason than the two former,

mer. True, the Carthaginians had attacked Maffiniffa king of Numidia, an ally of the Romans ; but, at the same time, they accepted the Romans for arbiters of their differences. So that this rapacious and ambitious people destroyed Carthage rather out of hatred and jealousy, than any just ground of vengeance. Cato, who bore an irreconcilable hatred to that republic, incessantly called out for it's destruction. Scipio Nasica, who was a man of the greatest opulence amongst the Romans, on the contrary, urged the necessity of preserving it ; that the fear of so formidable a rival might hold the people to their duty, and that too great prosperity might not introduce dissolution and debauch in Rome.

THE differences that fell out betwixt Hircanus and Aristobulus, for the dignity of the High-priesthood, gave Pompey

pey an opportunity to make war with the Jews. He made Aristobulus prisoner; and, not being able to get a sufficient sum of money out of him, he took Jerusalem, and pillaged it on a Sabbath-day, which the Jews so superstitiously observed as a day of holy rest, that they would not so much as handle their arms to defend themselves. Pompey, not so scrupulous, took this advantage of their folly to distress them.

JULIUS CÆSAR was as little scrupulous as he; and yet, when he landed in Great Britain, he gave out some appearances of reason to colour his invasion: He pretended that they had not sent him hostages. One of the princes he attacked complains of the Romans in these terms: “ These plunderers of the
“ universe, having ravaged all the land;
“ at length have infested the sea. Cove-
“ tous, where their enemy is rich;
9 “ where

" where poor, ambitious. The east and
" west could not content them; they
" must be master of every province,
" sterile or fertile. To slay, to pillage,
" and to desolate kingdoms, under false
" pretences, this their deadly policy;
" and, after making the whole earth
" one frightful solitude, they tell you
" that they have put all things in a
" calm."

If we look back, pursues Aristus, to
the first origin of this so famous a peo-
ple, we discover them to be nothing but
a band of debauchees, assassins, robbers,
and traitors, got together for the de-
fence of one another. Romulus be-
gan with a parricide; they then drove
out their neighbours, ravaged their
cities, assembled their prisoners, and
obliged them, against their will, to con-
form to the laws of Romulus and his
successors. So that the acquisitions of
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the Romans were the fruits of their robberies. A famous author, replies Arfennes, speaking of the Roman People, says, that the way they took to eternize their memory, was to conduct great armies, to pillage others goods, to sack towns, and enslave free people. The more waste they committed, the greater glory they took to themselves. They ravished, killed, and exercised a thousand cruelties. They violated all the rights of civil society, by the most cruel acts of injustice. They created themselves enemies purposely for the pleasure they took in their destruction.

AND they, in turn, says Aristus, have often experienced themselves the treatment they gave to others: For their own slaves have rose up and rebelled against them. The dissentions betwixt the tribunes of the people and the senate emboldened these unfortunates to venture

venture upon attacking the masters of the world, in order to shake off the yoke of their servitude. And this war occasioned greater ravages and disorders in Sicily, than could the arms of the Africans. Most of the Roman citizens possessed rich inheritances in that fine country; they had an infinite number of slaves chained down in their prisons, to make use of them according as they wanted them to occupy their estates. One of these unhappy men, feigning inspiration, animated his companions to recover their liberty. Historians inform us, that he held in his mouth a nut rubbed with brimstone, to which having set fire, breathing gently, the flames issued out as he spoke. None could doubt, after such a prodigy, interrupts Timanthes, but that this empiric had a commission from the Gods to set captives free.

HE acted his part so well, that, in a little time, he saw himself at the head of sixty thousand men; and, with this army, he attacked and took the Prætor's camp. This was a great mortification to the Roman people, accustomed to victory, and to lead about fettered kings in triumph, thus to see themselves beat by slaves.

SPARTACUS, who was but a simple gladiator, replies Arfennes, no less galled the Romans. He too put himself at the head of a troop of revolting slaves, who had found the means to escape from their prisons, and longed to revenge the ill treatment they had received from their lordly masters. They dextrously converted their fetters into weapons, attacked the army of the consuls, and routed it; nay, and carried their insolence so far, as to meditate the siege of Rome.

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THE civil wars which broke out in the empire, says Timanthes, occasioned much more mischief than that of the slaves, which was stifled in a moment. The ambition of Marius and Sylla set Rome against Rome, and lighted up a flame of discord in the very heart of the community, which nothing but the blood of numbers of its most illustrious citizens could extinguish. The first spark of this combustion sprung from Marius's ambitious desire to be sent against Mithridates, though the senate had already decreed that commission to Sylla, who suddenly brought back to Rome the army destined against Mithridates, and obliged the senate to declare Marius and his accomplices enemies of the republic. But he exacted a cruel revenge for this affront, by the massacre of the senators, and some of the most considerable persons in Rome, during

Sylla's absence in the east, where his employments detained him; though, as soon as they would give him leave, he set out from thence, with hasty strides, to revenge himself in turn upon the partizans of Marius.

HARDLY can one decide, continued Timanthes, which of the two generals shewed the greatest inhumanity in their behaviour. Sylla, in the end, got the better of his rival, who was entirely defeated in two battles, in which he lost 70,000 men. What can never be pardoned in the memory of Sylla, is, his putting to death 4000 citizens, who had laid down their arms, and quietly surrendered themselves. Sylla had them all massacred in cold blood, in his own presence. In the same manner he treated the deputies of a city given him in hostage.

THE Gods, replies Arfennes, seem to have retaliated upon the Romans the ills they had done the universe. One civil war was scarcely quelled, when another sprung up. Sertorius, banished from Rome by Sylla's proscription, stirred up Spain; and, by his valour, occasioned the republic much mischief. He obtained great advantage over Metellus and Pompey, who again beat him in their turn. He was unhappily assassinated by his own domestics: Perpenna slew him at an entertainment, and then went over to Pompey. By this means Spain was reconquered and quieted.

Soon after, pursued Aristus, the empire was again plunged into fresh troubles. Lepidus, during his Consulship, wanted to abolish all that Sylla had done; who had confiscated the citizens goods, and distributed them amongst his own party. Lepidus's intentions were good, but they

whom Sylla had invested with these effects, were not in an humour to suffer themselves to be dispossessed of them. And much happier had it been for the quiet of the commonwealth, to have let things gone as they were.

THESE domestic broils, says Arsennes, were but the preludes to those disasters which desolated the empire, during the civil wars between Cæsar and Pompey. Every nation, people, and province had a feeling in the combustion they excited. Cæsar saw himself supported by the Gauls and Germans, whom he had trained up himself, and Pompey had on his side all the forces of the east. Italy became the theatre of this bloody tragedy, which lasted four years. The Roman Empire was, at that period, at the height of its grandeur. All the talk was of Pompey, and his victories in Pontus and Armenia. The glory he had

had acquired, his excessive power and opulence, gave umbrage to the citizens, who began to be afraid of him. Cato, whose temper was naturally austere and restless, never ceased railing against him, and trying to lessen his most shining actions. Pompey, nettled at these clamours, set himself to work to find out a prop for the preservation of his authority, maugre all these jealousies at his renown. He leagued himself with Crassus and Julius Cæsar, who had as much ambition as Pompey, and were equally desirous to see themselves masters of the commonwealth. For this purpose, Cæsar possessed himself of Gaul, Crassus of Asia, Pompey of Spain; and, each putting himself at the head of the armies they found in those provinces, they, by these means, saw themselves masters of the Empire, and arbiters of the Roman destiny. Their good-understanding lasted but ten years. Crassus

was slain by the Parthians, and Pompey's authority became insupportable to Cæsar, who would own no superior, nor the other even an equal. Fate was to decide it on the day of Pharfalia. Pompey, who was perfectly acquainted with Cæsar's warmth of temper, tried to cool his ardour by delays. For this the soldiers reproached his slackness as owing to his fears, the senators jeered him, his allies complained against him; so that he now saw himself obliged to fight whether he would or not, and hazard the empire of the world on a single battle. The two armies contained above 300,000 men. Pompey, who had more cavalry than Cæsar, flattered himself that he could easily surround and hem him in; but the Germans marched up with such intrepidity against Pompey's cavalry, that they put it in disorder. This defeat spread a confusion through
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the whole, and drew after it that of the entire army.

MOST of Cæsar's enterprizes proved fortunate, says Timanthes: Victory seemed attached to his car, and Fortune of his train. With what luck did he escape the Egyptians ambush for him in Alexandria? All at once he found himself invested by a vast throng of the enemy: He resisted with but a handful of people, and had the presence of mind to set fire to the neighbouring houses, and to the fleet, on purpose to divert them, that he might by that means make his escape, and put himself at the head of his troops, with which he fell upon the Egyptians on all sides, and made a horrid slaughter.

THE same good luck accompanied him into Asia, pursued Arsennes. There he beat Pharnaces, Mithridates's son; and

and made such speed in defeating him, that Cæsar, speaking of that victory, said he had conquered his enemy ere he saw him. He did not employ much more time, replies Timanthes, in dispersing the broken remains of Pompey's army, which Scipio and Cato had got together. King Juba had at that time joined them: Almost all their troops were cut off in one engagement. Scipio killed himself out of regret, and Juba, at a magnificent entertainment he gave to Petreius, begged of him to kill him in the midst of the repast; which he accordingly did, and immediately after flew himself.

BUT Fortune, says Ariftus, was within a little of abandoning Cæsar the day the battle of Munda was fought, where Pompey's children left nothing uneffayed to avenge their father's death. Cæsar was observed not to go to the engagement

ment with the same chearfulness and confidence as usual. Either he dreaded a reverse after such a series of good success, or the misfortunes of his son-in-law filled him with apprehensions of a like fate. What chagrined him most was, to see his old troops, which had served him so well for fourteen years, that day give ground. It is said that Cæsar intended to kill himself, and that marks of despair were visible in his face. However, he got the victory, to which succeeded a peace. Cæsar's clemency obliterated all his cruelties during the war. He only put to death Afranius, whom he had pardoned once before. What was very surprizing, was, that after so much disorder he had been the occasion of, the senate nevertheless gave him the glorious title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

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THERE was room to hope, says Ariftus, that the death of Pompey and Cæfar would have put an end to the civil wars: But Cæfar's will, which adopted Auguftus, lighted up new diffentions. It drave Mark Antony almost wild with defpair, to find himfelf only confidered in the fecond place, and to fee Auguftus, who was but eighteen years old, preferred before him. But he faw himfelf fupported by the veteran legions, who had fo many times been led to victory under the conduct of Cæfar, and were determined to revenge his death. Nevertheless, Auguftus made peace with Mark Antony; and Lepidus, who had the command of feveral legions, joined them. So that thefe three faw themfelves at the head of the empire, as Pompey, Cæfar, and Craffus had been before.

THIS was a fatal union to the Romans, rejoins Arfennes. The horrors of pro-
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scriptions again revived, as in the times of Sylla: An hundred and forty senators were massacred. Augustus indeed only put to death those who had dipped their hands in Cæsar's blood. Brutus and Cassius, who were the principal actors, retired into Syria and Macedonia. Cæsar, whom they had sacrificed, had, before his death, given them the government of those two fine provinces. Augustus and Mark Antony disposed themselves for war with Brutus and Cassius, and Lepidus was left at Rome to curb the commonwealth.

THESE two illustrious Romans shewed the greatest marks of courage, continues Timanthes, during the engagement, which was fought upon the same plains of Thessaly, so fatal to Pompey the Great; but their judgment seemed to fail them the moment they most wanted it. Cassius's cavalry, after having
plundered

plundered Augustus's camp, returned on the full gallop: He, thinking them beaten, and that they fled, without further deliberation, or giving himself time to clear up this important affair, abandoned himself to despair, and ordered a soldier, who attended him, to strike off his head. The news of Cassius's death discouraged his Colleague: They had reciprocally promised not to survive the loss of the battle, so that Brutus caused himself to be killed upon the spot by one of his train. The young Pompey was not more fortunate: After the loss of a great battle, he was taken in his flight into Asia, and his enemies put him to death by the hand of a common executioner. The defeat of Mark Antony, who killed himself upon losing the battle, left Augustus sole master of the universe. This last victory put an end to the civil wars, all the heads having either fallen in engagements or by
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their own hands. Augustus had the happiness to see peace established throughout the empire, and to shut the Temple of Janus, which had happened but twice in seven hundred years, since the founding of Rome; once in Numa's time, and again after the demolition of Carthage.

HISTORY has preserved the memory of a truly heroic action of the young Pompey's, at the time he was reconciled to Augustus and Antony. These two Princes supped together on board a galley belonging to Pompey, when Menas, who commanded the fleet, sent to advertise him that it would be easy to make away with both his rivals, and to satisfy his father's death. And he added, by way of further temptation, that this would be a sure blow towards the recovery of the empire, and that the affair should infallibly succeed if he himself would

would but consent, and leave the management of it to him. Pompey however refused, saying, Augustus and Antony had come there under the good faith of the treaty they had concluded, and that he had rather lose the empire of the world than break his word.

THIS answer became the son of Pompey the Great, replies Arsennus. There is in the sentiment something uncommonly great: The temptation was, without doubt, exquisite. Few would have been so scrupulous, where the only business was to take the advantage of Menas's perfidy to succeed to the empire. Perhaps, says Aristus, he repented of his generosity; for this very Menas betrayed him in the end. He delivered up Sardinia to Augustus, together with the naval armament which Pompey had entrusted him with the command of.

MANY,

MANY, says Ariftus, reproach Auguftus with his frequent recourfe to fome artifice or other to triumph over his enemies, imputing it to a defect of courage. Antony publicly declared that Auguftus fled from the battle, that he threw off the enfigns of his command, for fear of being known, and that he hid himfelf two days before he returned to the army. Others again reproach him, replies Arfennes, with having killed with his own hand the two confuls Hirtius and Panfa, at the battle they obtained for him, and in which they defeated Mark Antony's troops; though fome think he feded Penfa's phyfician, who, by Auguftus's fecret orders, poisoned his wounds. This Prince has always been regarded as one of the moft illuftrious of the Romans; and yet true it is, his character is very ambiguous, concealing great vices under the appearances of probity. During the horror of

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the triumvirate, he was one of the most eager for murdering the citizens. He had his tutor Torannius proscribed: He even forbid all lamentation for any who were unhappily involved in proscriptions. His marriage with Livia drew upon him the contempt and raileries of the Romans. She was six months gone with child when he forced her from the arms of her husband Drusus, though he was cautioned not to marry a woman big with child. After the victory which he got over young Pompey, he put to death almost all the senators and knights of his party. Before the battle of Actium, he practised all manner of wiles to debauch Antony's officers and soldiers, and to draw them over to his own side: And, when he had got a complete victory, he received the presents which Cleopatra sent him privately and unknown to Antony, and promised to maintain her in her kingdom, if she would

would put her Lover to death. Nay, further, he gave her assurances by one of his freed-men, that he himself was her admirer. Cleopatra, seduced by his compliments, flattered herself that she could establish the same empire over Augustus as she had done over Cæsar and Mark Antony. Already she conceived herself mistress of the Roman Empire; inso-much that, when Augustus presented himself before Alexandria, she enjoined the inhabitants not to employ the force of their arms against him, though publicly, to save appearances, she pretended to be his enemy. Antony could not help seeing into her treachery, yet love would not let him believe it. I cannot pardon Augustus's cruelty towards the issue of Mark Antony, who had been his friend and colleague. The eldest of his children he caused to be massacred at the foot of Julius Cæsar's statue, which he clung to, thinking they would re-

spect that asylum : He strangled Antillus too, whom Antony had by Cleopatra. Cæsario, the son of Julius Cæsar and Cleopatra, had retired into Æthiopia ; but, betrayed by his governor, he was brought back to Alexandria, though but of tender years. The truth is, Augustus made excellent laws for the regulation of the manners, and to repress the luxury of the Roman ladies. But the Romans, who knew well enough the disorders of his own family, and the bad behaviour of his daughter Julia, laughed at his established laws for others, not scrupling to say publicly, that he ought to begin reformation at home. He plainly saw that he was not liked at Rome ; upon which account, he resolved upon a journey to the Gauls, under pretence of appeasing the tumultuous risings there. Some ill-designing persons attributed the secret motives of this journey to Augustus's passion for Terentia, Mæcenas's wife,

wife, who was the subject of very free talk at Rome. When Varus was defeated by Armenius in Germany, Augustus did not support that loss with all the constancy becoming a Roman Emperor: He did nothing but complain and afflict himself for several months, beating his head against the wall, and every minute crying out, "Quintilius Varus, restore me my legions!" Antony upbraided Augustus with purchasing his adoption, by prostituting himself to Cæsar, and by adulterous practices with many Roman ladies. Others excuse him herein, by attributing it to his policy, thus to worm the secrets of his enemies out of their wives.

If we are to credit all you say of him, replies Timanthes, Augustus is highly culpable: But my sentiments of this great personage's virtue and merit are just the reverse. And though it is need-

less to undertake his defence, after what posterity has declared in his favour, yet, methinks, every honest man is obliged to do justice to his memory. Did not he shew a great command of himself when Cleopatra's person was in his power, and she herself employed all sorts of artifices to inspire him with a passion for her, as she had successfully done to Cæsar and Mark Antony; yet would he not so much as look in her face, but held down his eyes during the whole time of his conversation with her? How great was his moderation towards Cornelius Gallus, whom he had made governor of Egypt, and had loaded with favours? This ungrateful wretch was, a very little time after, accused of insolent speeches against the Emperor, of causing statues to be erected to himself throughout Egypt, and of being vain enough to have his own name and exploits engraved upon the Pyramids. He was besides
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charged with other crimes, which the senate determined to take cognizance of, and to punish him for according to his deserts. Augustus, forgetting his own interest, and the ingratitude of Gallus, said he esteemed it unfortunate that he should be the only one who had it not in his power to limit his anger against his friends, and to deal it as he liked. All ages must praise the clemency of this great Prince, and the nobleness of soul he shewed in so generously pardoning Cinna and his accomplices. Nay, further, he named him Consul, and gave him many other sincere tokens of an undoubted friendship. Common minds are incapable of these great actions. He died with the same courage he lived. Finding himself near his conclusion, he turned to his friends, and said to them with the greatest tranquillity, "What think ye, my friends, have I not acted my part well?" He naturally dreaded

war, for its fatal consequences: And, after he saw himself in the peaceable possession of the empire, he never engaged in wars without the utmost necessity. He had often used to say, that it was the mark of a light mind, and a slave to vanity, to hazard the safety of his citizens for the sake of glory only: That arms were never to be taken up but for some great good, lest even victory's self should be purchased with more loss than utility. Your heroes are not much given to be over-lavish in their praises of other great commanders, nor to busy themselves much in immortalizing their memory. A kind of jealousy, arising from an over-delicacy, is apt to paint them as rivals of their own glory. Augustus was far above these low suspicions. He did all possible honour to the memory of those brave men who had been ornaments to the commonwealth; and, as monuments
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of their virtues, he had their names engraved, that time might not destroy the remembrance of what they had done. He erected triumphal statues to them, and spared for nothing to perpetuate their fame. Nothing in his life affects me more than what he did whilst he was pontiff, upon Lepidus's death. He burnt all books of religion that were anonymous, or whose authors were suspected, and preserved only those that were the best approved.

If the successors of Augustus, resumes Arfennes, had pursued his steps and maxims, and the plan which he had established, we had never seen the many disorders which desolated the Roman Empire, and in the end caused its ruin. The Roman People, so imperious and haughty, so jealous of their liberty, and who had so long given law to the universe, lost their reputation and renown,
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and fell into the utmost contempt. Rome became a bloody theatre of tragic fights: Consuls, senators, knights, and the most illustrious of the Romans, served but to gratify the brutal dispositions of ministers, and the executioners of emperors; who, in their turn, underwent the same fate, upwards of forty of them having been murdered or poisoned.

WHAT I cannot comprehend, says Ariftus, is that Augustus, with such long experience and good discernment, should, notwithstanding, make so bad a choice as Tiberius for his fucceffor to the empire. Augustus was not ignorant that he was of a malicious, fubtle, close temper, and from his heart delighted in cruelty. I do not think, replies Timanthes, that Augustus meant to give the empire a vicious and cruel fucceffor, merely to make himfelf regreted: He had
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had too tender an affection for the commonwealth. But Tiberius was high in the good graces of the Empress Livia, to whom Augustus was all condescension, and she left nothing unfayd to incline the Emperor that way. Besides, Tiberius was Augustus's son-in-law, by his marriage with Julia: To which we may add, that Tiberius had given great proofs of his courage and conduct, in the German war; so that the senate designed him the titles of Invincible, Pannonicus, Germanicus. It disturbs me a little, replies Aristus, that, as it depended upon Augustus's choice, and Germanicus was far preferable to Tiberius, that he should be passed by. He was the son of Antonia, Augustus's niece, and had married Agrippina, the Emperor's grand-daughter. He was much more agreeable to the Romans than Tiberius, and surpassed him in every virtue. Methinks, replies Timanthes,
Tiberius

Tiberius shewed great modesty and moderation, in not accepting the empire till entreated to it.

It was all artifice, answers Arsennes: He wanted to persuade the world that he was the choice of the commonwealth. And, being thus of a crafty artful temper, he endeavoured to penetrate into the most secret thoughts of the senate, how they stood affected towards him, that he might, in the end, avail himself of it, and take his measures the better. He had even the boldness to risk saying, in a full senate, that the republic could boast of such numbers of excellent personages worthy of commanding it, that the sovereign authority ought to be shared amongst many, and that they should not lay on one man the whole weight of government. All his affectations, says Aristus, do not conceal his real intentions, however hypocritically veiled:

veiled: Nor can one give much faith to what he said, when he accepted the empire upon the servile solicitations of the senate, That he did it only not to appear insensible to the prayers and tears of the commonwealth, to whom he vowed one day to resign that dignity.

THIS Prince, replies Arsennes, was an excellent actor: He played upon the senate with his fine speeches; but they perfectly saw through all his disguises, and knew how far they were to depend upon them. He soon shewed what disposition he was of, by forthwith destroying Agrippa, Augustus's grandson, whose murder was but a prelude to that of Germanicus's. This young Prince's conquests in Germany had drawn upon him the jealousy of Tiberius, though he reaped all the advantages of them, and those great successes stood forth the first-fruits

first-fruits of his empire. He then grew apprehensive of the wit and courage of Agrippina, Germanicus's wife; and, as too often we judge of others by ourselves, Tiberius was afraid that Germanicus might have ambition enough to think of elevating himself to the empire, under the favour of the soldiers, who adored him, and had offered to declare him emperor upon Augustus's death. Tiberius, who at all events was determined to destroy him, loaded him with favours and extraordinary caresses, associated him to the consulship, making him his colleague. No one, however, mistook the drift of his favours, nor the ill purpose to which they tended. To remove all distrust from Germanicus, and that none might suspect Tiberius as being the author of his death, which happened a little after, he died poisoned, at the age of thirty four years, a sacrifice to the Emperor's jealousy; who,

who, for that purpose, made use of Piso governor of Syria, and his wife Plancina. Germanicus, who knew the hasty temper of Agrippina, exhorted her to conceal her vexation and resentment as well as she could, and to assume thoughts more suitable to her situation; and not to irritate the Emperor by an indignant carriage, or reproach, which would be sure to prove fatal to her.

WHEN one reflects upon the beginning of Tiberius's reign, says Timanthes, and compares it with the end, one can hardly conceive him to be the same Emperor, or that the same individual could pass to such opposite extremes. He seemed to hold pride and ambition at a distance, absolutely forbidding any statues to be erected to him without his express permission. The Romans, to make their court to him, proposed to give the name of Tiberius to the month of November, but

but he laughed at it, and would not consent. Perhaps, interrupts Aristus, this was a fly way of censuring the vanity of Cæsar and Augustus, who had given their own names to the months of July and August; or, perhaps, it might be for the pleasure of a witticism. "What would you do," says he to the Romans, "should you happen to have thirteen Cæsars?" He shewed a great deal of good temper, replies Timanthes, in suffering people to talk so freely of his conduct; and said aptly enough, that, in a free city like Rome, the tongue and the mind should be free. In the assemblies he submitted his own suffrage to that of others, and never resented their being of a contrary opinion. His courtiers one day were flattering him, and advising him to exact some large duties: "No," says he, "a good shepherd will shear the wool, but not fleece his sheep." When he began his reign,
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he had used to pray the Gods not to permit him to live or reign longer than he could be serviceable to the commonwealth.

VERY fine maxims, indeed, says Ariftus; but Tiberius did not long observe them: For, after Germanicus's death, he abandoned himself to all sorts of vices, and shewed himself in his true likeness. So that we may very well believe all his virtues to be affected and superficial, and that his pretensions to the character of a good man were assumed but in farce to his private ends. If I mistake not, says Arsennes, the senate contributed not a little, by their shameful flatteries, to corrupt the mind of Tiberius. Unfortunately for this Prince, continues Timanthes, he had for prime minister a man without honour, without virtue, and capable of the greatest crimes; bold, enterprising, artful, and

a dissembler like himself, and whose manners bore a near relation to his own. This sympathy of morals placed Sejanus above all. He soon got the ascendancy over his Prince, who looked upon him as a proper instrument to execute his will: So that the very favour of that Minister implied an odium; as it could not be founded on Sejanus's virtue, or his services to the republic, but on the conformity of his own to his Prince's vices, and the blind devotion he expressed to all his caprices and all his cruelties. He gave a great instance of his malignant turn in the treachery he used to destroy Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus. He advised her that Tiberius had formed a design of poisoning her, and that she ought to be very wary how she accepted any thing from the Emperor. At the same time he informs Tiberius of Agrippina's suspicions, and that she had taken it into her head that he designed

designed to poison her. At dinner one day at the Emperor's table, she would taste of nothing that was set before her; Tiberius perceived it, and offered her some fruit, which she took, but would not eat. Tiberius, deceived by Sejanus's false reports, could not help shewing his vexation; and, turning towards her mother Livia, complained of Agrippina's injustice, for that she looked upon him as a poisoner.

I do not know, pursues Aristus, that ever any man was raised to a higher degree of favour than Sejanus. The adulation of the Romans towards him carried them even to low servility and superstition. They celebrated his birthday as a Roman festival, dedicated images and statues to him without number; nay, they even carried their flatteries so far as to sacrifice victims to him, as to a divinity. These vain honours, resumes

Arsennes, intoxicated him, and deprived him of sense and judgment. He forgot that he served a master, the most subtle, artful, and suspicious that ever was: He began to hold Tiberius cheap, and gave him the title of Governor of the Island of Capreæ. The Prince's guards were devoted to Sejanus, and the senators followed his fortune, either through hope or fear, as he had the absolute disposal of all preferments. Tiberius at length opened his eyes, and saw with consternation the formidable sway of his favourite.

IN this juncture it was, continued Timanthes, that Tiberius manifested his political abilities. He practised the deepest dissimulation, to hide the suspicions and the umbrage which Sejanus's advancement had occasioned him. The more to lull him, he redoubled his caresses; he expressed greater friendship,
and

and heaped honours upon him more than ever; named him his colleague in the consulship, and permitted the Romans to dedicate to him statues of gold, as to the Emperor's self. These appearances effectually deceived Sejanus and the Romans, who grew lavish in their homages to a man so favoured by the Emperor. All this while Tiberius, who dared not openly undertake the downfall of Sejanus, was artfully sounding the Romans what were their real sentiments towards him: And it was astonishing to see, as soon as it was publicly known that the Prince had given up his Favourite, all the world instantly forsaking him, and unanimously loading him with curses; even they who, that very day, had done themselves the honour of attending him to the senate, calling him their Master, the next moment treated him as the vilest of slaves. This unhappy man saw himself loaded with

P 3 irons,

irons, and dragged to prison, the populace running in crowds from all quarters to this sad spectacle, insulted Sejanus with numberless reproaches. They pulled down his statues, and dragged them through the dirt: His body, which, after his execution, was thrown upon a dunghill, was hauled from thence, and dragged three days together through the streets of the city, and then thrown into the Tiber.

If Tiberius had been contented with putting Sejanus to death, resumes Arfennes, no body would have reproached him; but his fury knew no bounds when once he saw himself rid of so formidable a rival. All the relations and friends of Sejanus were involved in his misfortune: All his children were made away with. One of his daughters was violated by her executioner. How innocent soever in other respects, yet it was
criminal

criminal but to be related to Sejanus. The prisons overflowed with senators, knights, and illustrious Romans: Tiberius gave orders for them all to be put to death in one day. Nay, what seemed a refinement upon cruelty itself, the Prince forebad any weeping for the dead. If any wore marks of sorrow on their countenance, it was sure to be punished to the utmost. He had persons purposely appointed to remark every one's visage; that they were obliged to stifle every compassionate sentiment, and to lock up their regrets in their own bosoms.

THE unhappiness of Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus so beloved by the Romans, compleated their despair. This Princess, seeing no end to her miseries, but that Tiberius grew more and more envenomed against her, resolved to get rid of all her ills by starving herself

to death. The death of her two sons, Nero and Drusus, had drove her to despair. Nero had laid violent hands upon himself, to shun the disgraceful conclusion of his life by an executioner; and Drusus, shut up in the Emperor's palace, died starved and mad; reduced, in his wretched situation, to eat even the flocks of his bed.

CALIGULA, continued Timanthes, was more fortunate than his two brothers. Providence seems to have saved him from the fury of Tiberius, to punish the Romans for their pride and vices. He was blindly compliant to all the Emperor's caprices, and had long been an accomplice in his crimes. He was suspected to have lain parricidal hands upon the person of Tiberius, who had appointed him his successor. It is thought that he smothered him under a large quantity of bed-cloaths, which he had ordered

ordered to be thrown upon him under pretence of keeping him warm.

THE Romans, says Ariftus, were much mistaken in Caligula's character: They flattered themselves that they fhould fee revive in him all the virtues of his father Germanicus. He was born amongft the legions, who longed to fee him Emperor. Tiberius, who was no ftranger to this young Prince's bad inclinations, had ufed to fay, that he was nourifhing a ferpent which would devour the Roman people. And yet the joy at Rome was fo exceffive at Caligula's acceffion, that, in lefs than three months, above an hundred and fixty thoufand victims were flain, to thank the Gods for the prefent they had made the univerfe, in their choice of Caligula for Emperor.

THE commencement of his empire, purfues Arfennes, gave the Romans
great

great expectations. He hallowed the first-fruits of it by many acts of virtue. He set open the prisons to those who had been oppressed by the calumnies or cabals of Sejanus, in the last reign: He determined to suppress all the ministers, and their accessaries, to those prodigious sensualities so countenanced in his predecessor's time. He spared no pains to relieve the people from the oppressions they had suffered; inso-much, that they stiled the day he began his reign THE NEW BIRTH OF ROME. The young Agrippa, the King of the Jews, partook greatly of Caligula's favours. He had been persecuted in Tiberius's reign, for happening to say one day, as he was making his court to Caligula, "When will that old man die, "that I may see thee Emperor?" Tiberius was told of it, who clapped him in irons, and had him conveyed to prison. Caligula recalled him to court as soon

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as he saw himself in possession of the empire, restored him his estates, and added new provinces to his kingdom. He gave him besides a chain of gold, of the same weight with the iron one he had worn in prison.

THE Romans' happiness did not last long, continued Timanthes; they were soon undeceived. Caligula early betrayed his odd and fickle temper. He carried his extravagance so far, as to desire divine adoration to be paid him, causing the decree that was made to pay him worship and sacrifice to be engraved on a pillar. Amidst all the flattery the Romans so prodigally bestowed upon him, yet his change of opinion, almost every moment, embarrassed them not a little. He pretended to hate flattery, yet was sure to resent all frankness of speech. Though Tiberius had persecuted the Romans, yet Caligula's yoke made even him

him regreted; for they knew not what steps to take to avoid his whim or frenzy. He abandoned the government of affairs to men of low principles, and to players, who had got a perfect ascendancy over him: so far that even governors and consuls were forced to submit to the directions of these wretches, who abused their power to the height of insolence.

THE effects of their bad counsels were soon seen, replies Aristus. Caligula put the young Tiberius to death, who he had adopted his son, and the Emperor had declared his successor. Some charge the young Prince with shewing too much levity at Caligula's illness. This brutal man put two persons to death, who had joined in a vow to the Gods, if the Prince recovered his health, to substitute their own lives instead. Upon his perfect recovery, they presented themselves to him, hoping the affection they

they had expressed for his person upon this occasion would entitle them to some reward: But he obliged them to acquit themselves of the vow they had made, and to destroy themselves; for fear, says he, they should be perjured.

NEVER did prince, says Timanthes, love bloodshed and slaughter more. He could not content himself with seeing a few gladiators cut one another's throats, but made them fight by wholesale, and in troops, that there might be the more blood spilt. One day it happened, not finding any criminals upon the list, to be exposed to the wild beasts according to custom, he took the first comers that met to see the show; and, before they were thrown to the beasts, had their tongues cut out, to hinder their complaining. In one of his raging fits, he was heard to say, that he wished the Roman people had but one neck, that
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he might cut it off, and dispatch them at a blow.

WHAT I think most of all unfortunate in the condition of the Romans, resumes Arsennus, was the caresses and flatteries they were obliged to observe towards this monster. In their excessive praises of him, they spare not to stile him, "The thrice gracious Prince," and to thank him that he even suffered them to live.

HE tired them out, however, at last, continued Timanthes. His exactions, and other infamous crimes, which he had the imprudence to commit in the sight of all the world, put the finishing stroke to the hatred they bore him. Cassius Chareas, and Cornelius Sabinus, captains of the guard, conspired against his life, and slew him, after piercing him with upwards of thirty wounds. This Prince had prepared some shows
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for the populace; when, after coming from the theatre to a concert, Chareas and his accomplices lay in wait for him at the corner of a street. Not one of the conspirators but steeped his sword in the blood of this unhappy Prince. His wife Cæsonia, and his daughters, were massacred at the same time.

THE Roman empire, says Aristus, has certainly experienced some very cruel princes; but, in that respect, methinks Caligula surpassed them all. It was a piece of pleasantry to him to see his fellow creatures devoured by wild beasts, and to force parents to assist at their childrens executions. He one day beckoned a poor wretch who had been thus assisting at his son's death, forced him to sit at table, to laugh and be merry, though ready to sink beneath his sorrow. When he ordered any one to die, he admonished the executioner to dispatch them

them slowly, that their pain might be the longer. These cruel words, learned in the school of Tiberius, were often in his mouth: "Let them hate me, so they fear me." Whilst he dined or supped, he used to put criminals to the torture, and could look on these sad spectacles without any sign of compassion. As he was offering a sacrifice, in quality of pontiff, instead of killing the victim, he purposely knocked down the priest in waiting. Looking at his wife or mistresses, he would sometimes say, "When I please, I can lay that fair head low."

THEIR'S is a very unhappy fate, pursues Arsennes, who fall under the tyranny of a man that has nothing human belonging to him but his form, sporting thus with his dependents lives. The Romans had a small respite during the reign of Claudius, brother to Germanicus, and Caligula's uncle, and who succeeded

ceeded him. However, he put Chæreas to death, for conspiring against the Emperor; less, perhaps, to revenge his predecessor's death, than for his own security, by this rigorous example intimidating all plots. Chæreas, at his execution, shewed great intrepidity and contempt of death. He asked the soldier who was to execute him, whether he could kill a man well, and whether or no he had a good sword? begging him, if not, to make use of that with which he had killed Caligula. The Romans were very sorry for Chæreas. Sabinus voluntarily destroyed himself, having promised Chæreas not to survive him.

CLAUDIUS's reign had been a more happy one, if his wives and freed-men had had less controul over him. His bad education contributed much hereto. He could neither act nor govern, as Emperor.

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In fact, he was but the tool of his freedmen. His natural timidity rendered him incapable of taking good resolutions, or pursuing good advice. They who approached him, and knew his foible, took the advantage of it to succeed in their designs.

His greatest misfortune was, says Timanthes, the espousing Messalina. Scarce ever woman was so dissolute and immodest: She observed no decency in her amours or other passions. She was indeed a scandal to the empire of Claudius, and a lasting infamy. She was the cause of Seneca's disgrace and banishment, who had just begun to distinguish himself in Caligula's reign: She accused the Philosopher of criminal conversation with Julia, the daughter of Germanicus. She was much handsomer than Messalina, who was therefore apprehensive the Emperor might become her admirer, although

although her uncle. For this reason she banished her Rome, and yet could not rest 'till, in the end, she murdered her, to rid herself of all unquietude from so formidable a rival. This voluptuous Princess could not be satisfied with living a debauched life herself, but even compelled the Roman ladies to follow her bad example. Many of them she prostituted in the palace, under the very eyes of their husbands; and they who had complaisance enough quietly to submit to the disorderly behaviour of their wives, she advanced to the first dignities in the empire. Claudius was grown half stupid, bewitched by Messalina's caresses and charms. He saw nothing of his domestic irregularities, nor his wife's ill-usage of him. She determined to have several husbands at the same time; so, in the life-time of the Emperor, publicly espoused a young man named Silius, and gave him the

equipage of a prince. This unusual pomp so dazzled him, that, to maintain himself in it, he formed a design of killing Claudius. In order to engage Messalina in his conspiracy, to encourage her he told her, a bold stroke was now necessary to support them, after the noise they had made, and that he was ready at any time to sacrifice himself for the maintenance of her authority. Messalina contented herself with designing Silius consul, but would enter into no conspiracies against the Emperor's life, who left her to her will in every thing. She had the assurance to celebrate her marriage with her adulterer, to sign the contract, and to keep her wedding-day with the usual sacrifices observed at such ceremonies. She gave too a superb entertainment, in the midst of the city of Rome, where no one could wonder enough at her effrontery. The persons attached to the Emperor

peror dared not make him acquainted with the infamy of his house, and the danger he was in of his life, knowing his stupidity and weakness for Messalina. At last however Narcissus, a freed-man, ventured to accuse Messalina and Silius, and to remonstrate to the Emperor the danger he was in, and what a stain to his honour the Empress's bad conduct was. The news inflamed his anger against her; and, fortified by Narcissus's presence and advice, he resolved upon due satisfaction. In a moment she saw herself abandoned by all the world, and even by Silius himself: Yet, in the danger she was, she lost not her courage, nor the hope of seducing Claudius again by her beauty. She presented herself before him, attended by her two children Britannicus and Octavia, to soften the Emperor; who, on his part, had his fears, distrustful of all the world, and Messalina's artifices. Narcissus had the

addresses to conduct the Emperor to Silius's house, and there shewed him the riches of the empire prodigally bestowed on this infamous wretch, the price of his adultery. He was the first the Emperor sacrificed to his honour. Lepida, Messalina's mother, advised her bravely to kill herself, to escape the shame of an execution: But she, mollified with soft pleasures, wanted resolution for so hard a task. The soldiers employed by Narcissus put her to the poniard. Intelligence of this was brought to Claudius at a banquet, but he shewed no emotion thereat, though he fondly loved Messalina, but continued to the end of the entertainment, without giving the least token of uneasiness or regret.

THE Emperor's freed-men, pursues Arfennes, would have found it no easy matter to have diverted the melancholy thoughts

thoughts which the memory of a lady must inspire, whose empire over him had been so absolute; but that the charms of Agrippina, Germanicus's daughter, effaced from his heart all the impressions of Messalina's beauty. However, he dared not as yet espouse her, on account of her being his brother's child; and there was no precedent in the commonwealth of a man marrying his niece. Such nuptials were looked upon as incestuous; and he could not tell but this contempt of the laws might occasion an insurrection in the empire.

He did not know then, says Aristus, the temper that prevailed in the senate. That assembly was no longer composed of those illustrious Romans, inflexible to every thing that affected the rigour of their laws, or the honour of the commonwealth: It consisted of gentry devoted to the court, and won over by the

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intrigues.

intrigues of Agrippina. They accordingly enacted a law which annulled the former, admitting of marriage between uncle and niece. The first step Agrippina took to ingratiate herself with the Romans, when she was secure of the empire and the heart of Claudius, was to recal Seneca from his exile, to intrust him with Nero's education. Seneca was as able a courtier as a good philosopher: He managed matters so well, as to persuade Claudius to adopt Nero, as it were in aid to Britannicus, who was his junior by two years. The Roman people saw with regret the young Prince oppressed, by a plan prepared for Nero to mount the throne which rightfully belonged to Britannicus.

AGGRIPPINA played her part well, continued Timanthes, and lost no time to render her enterprize successful. She began

began with the death of Claudius, whom she poisoned with some mushrooms. By excessive largesses she obtained the votes of the tribunes and the legions, who secured the empire to Nero by the exclusion of Britannicus, to whom it belonged by descent and equity. The Romans had flattered themselves with great expectations from the reign of Britannicus, who was well inclined, and innately good; but Nero quickly poisoned him.

THE beginning of his reign, replies Aristus, was happy enough, whilst he pursued the counsels of Burrhus and Seneca, who managed him, and had a perfect influence over him: But, at length, his bad disposition got the better of their prudence, and it was not in their power to prevent him from pursuing his vicious inclinations. These two great personages, able as they were, committed

committed a considerable error in giving Nero too much liberty and indulgence. They knew his vehement love of pleasures, and therefore thought they should indulge him a little, not quite to dishearten him: But in this their policy failed them; for they did not reflect that a young prince, master of the universe, and clad with sovereign authority, which licensed him to do what he would, would naturally contract a habit of vice, which, in the end, they could never conquer. Too much liberty and indulgence shewn to young people, in their early days, often spoils and ruins them beyond redemption. Nero's character, when he entered upon his reign, was not perfectly understood: He had certainly in his heart some seeds of virtue. He declared at first that he should propose Augustus for his model, lessened the excessive taxes with which the people were loaded, and gave pensions to
poor

poor senators, that they might maintain the dignity of their rank with sufficient éclat. Burrhus pressing him one day to sign a warrant for a criminal's execution, "Would," says he, "I could" "neither read nor write." As if it was with regret he could consent to the death of a man, however culpable. These fair omens, says Arsennes, must inspire the Romans with great hopes,

THEIR happiness was not of long duration, pursues Aristus. He suffered himself to be seduced by the poisonous counsels of some young persons, who persuaded him to shake off Burrhus and Seneca's yoke, who gave him none but good advice. These flatterers represented to him what a disgrace it was for him to suffer his will to be traversed, by two men every moment controlling him, and prescribing to him what to do. Their discourse had the desired effect
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upon Nero's mind, who wanted to be rid of his masters, to deliver himself up to his passions and pleasures. He was vexed too at the glory and reputation of these two great men, whom all the world admired and applauded.

THE great merit of these two persons, resumes Arfennes, stands confessed; and yet posterity blames them, with some shew of justice, for sharing betwixt them the spoils of many rich families which Nero had oppressed. Seneca, who to appearance professed the most austere philosophy, amassed nevertheless almost seven millions: And Burrhus, who owed his fortune to the favour of Agrippina, who had made him colonel of the guards, offered Nero to put his mother to death; pretending a suspicion that she had designs against the life of the Emperor, to revenge the murder of Britannicus. Burrhus waited on her, to

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acquaint

acquaint her from Nero that she must justify herself from the crime laid to her charge, and either prove her innocence or prepare for death. He acquitted himself of the Prince's commands with too much spleen, and too little respect. It was a baseness, and an unpardonable ingratitude, to insult the misfortunes of a Princess who had heaped favours upon him.

ROMANS of the greatest virtue, continues Timanthes, further blame Seneca for living at all with such a tyrant; when, in his moral writings, he inveighs so bitterly against those whose ambitious views attach them to the great: Pretending to detest flatterers, he himself incessantly flattered the freed-men and their wives, who had any influence over the mind or heart of the Prince: Perpetually preaching up a sober and frugal life, he lived himself in the utmost delicacy,
and

and his house filled and ornamented with the most magnificent furniture. It is much easier, interrupts Arsennus, to publish fine maxims than to put them in practice. Certain it is the life of the disciple did not do his preceptor much honour: But, after all, it was a great misfortune for Seneca to have the care of a prince so impetuous and vicious as Nero.

Most historians think that Burrhus and Seneca advised him to put Agrippina to death; and that, if he had not thus prevented it, he had infallibly perished himself. The manner of his committing this parricide, pursues Arsennus, reflected as much dishonour upon him as the parricide itself. He made use of the ministry of one Anicetus, who, with a bad intent, let fall a dagger at the foot of a person sent from Agrippina with a salutation from Nero,
and

and immediately it was given out to the people, that the man was come to kill the Emperor. This same Anicetus instantly set out with a band of soldiers, and massacred the unhappy Agrippina. She behaved courageously, resumes Arisrus, and shewed in that fatal conjuncture no discredit to the blood of Germanicus: For, presenting herself to the centurion with the most undaunted resolution, "Strike," says she to him, "the womb that hath born Nero."

Thus died Agrippina, murdered by the orders of her own son, whom she had set upon the throne by so many intrigues and complicated crimes, in prejudice to Britannicus, who was legal heir to the empire. It was a procedure unworthy the gravity of Seneca, and the austerity of his morals, to employ as he did all his eloquence in palliating a crime so enormous. The senate in a
body

body paid their compliments to the Emperor on the happy success of this execution. Trafeas only had the courage publicly to disapprove a crime so detestable.

THE death of Agrippina, says Timanthes, gave free course to Nero's extravagancies and brutalities. He always had a sort of respect for her, which inspired him with something of circumspection ; but, that obstacle removed, he observed no bounds. He was all day at the Theatre, with the young people of Rome, of whom he made actors instead of good officers and soldiers. Luxury and debauch, by little and little, corrupted the whole city. No longer were those old Romans to be seen burning with the desire of glory, and that noble emulation which inspired them with courage and virtue. The very ladies conformed too to the taste of the court ;
and,

and, regardless of modesty or shame, prostituted themselves upon the stage, in the eyes of all the world.

It is certain, resumes Arfennes, that the corruption of Rome was general. A good proof of what I observe is, that the senators, habited in their purple robes, waited upon Nero, to felicitate him for the parricide he had committed; and this Prince was received in the city with the same acclamations as if he had merited the honours of a triumph. The Prince, encouraged by this reception, which he did not expect, proceeded to the Capitol, there to thank the Gods for his deliverance from his mother's tyranny. And yet, replies Aristus, all honest men loaded him with curses, and could no longer behold him without horror. In several parts of the city bills were fixed up, inscribed, "Orestes, Alcæon, " and Nero killed their mothers."

UNFORTUNATELY for the empire, continued Timanthes, during these transactions Burrhus died. It was not rightly known whether this great man died a natural death, or was poisoned by Nero. Burrhus himself thought so: For that Prince came to see him, and asked him how he did; but Burrhus, without deigning him a look, turned to the other side, telling him fiercely that he was well. The Romans lost their main support in Burrhus: His death happened so unseasonably, as to ruin entirely the little credit Seneca had left. The post of colonel of the guards, which Burrhus possessed, was given to Tigellinus, the minister to all Nero's pleasures, and the partner of his debauches. He immediately applied himself to complete Seneca's ruin in the Emperor's good-graces, who every day became more untractable.

SOON

SOON after he repudiated the virtuous Octavia, getting her accused of adultery by one of his officers, who confidently maintained that she was in love with a certain famous player upon the flute. She was banished into Campania; and Nero, soon after, condemned her to death, to please Poppea, who demanded that sacrifice of him.

THE Romans loved that Princess, resumes Aristus, and bore her death with a great deal of impatience. It was that, perhaps, pursues Arsennes, which set on foot that grand conspiracy against the life of the Emperor: Divers persons of the greatest merit were engaged in it. A scruple of Piso's, one of their chiefs, occasioned the discovery of the plot: He would not consent to have the murder committed in his house. "For," says he, "I shall be blamed by all the world, as
" a violator of the rules of hospitality,

“ if I thus pollute my table with the
 “ blood of an emperor.” He proposed
 therefore to the conspirators to attack
 him in the midst of Rome itself. The
 conspiracy was discovered. Nero learnt
 from the depositions of the conspirators,
 that Piso had been pitched upon to suc-
 ceed him. Some accused Seneca with
 being in the plot, as well as the poet
 Lucan. Epicharis, who was but a simple
 freed-woman, had more courage and
 constancy than all the conspirators : For,
 though they put her to most horrible
 torture, she would discover no person,
 and at last killed herself, to keep the se-
 cret inviolable.

Piso, says Timanthes, who was so
 interested in the event of this affair,
 wanted courage in the execution of it.
 His friends represented to him, that he
 ought to try his fortune, and sound the
 minds of the Romans and soldiers ; that
 Nero

Nero was not prepared to sustain the efforts of the conspirators ; that there was no further resource or hope, for the plot was discovered, and death inevitable ; and, since he must necessarily perish, at least he ought to fall bravely, forgetting nothing to free Rome of her tyranny. These reasonings made no impression on the mind of Piso: He had taken up a resolution to yield to the storm, and suffered himself to be massacred by the Emperor's soldiers. Seneca was accused of connexion with Piso, and the Emperor condemned him to die. This great man betrayed no dismay or emotion at this news ; but said to his friends, who sat at table with him, that he would leave them by will the pattern of his life: That he was not to wonder that Nero, after killing his mother and brother, should put his tutor to death. Then, addressing himself to his wife, he exhorted her patiently to submit to her misfortune.

POSTERITY, replies Ariftus, has pre-
ferved the memory of that heroine, for
her great proofs of conjugal affection.
Her name was Pompeia Paulina. She
promifed to her husband that ſhe would
not ſurvive him a moment; and that,
after paſſing their lives ſo agreeably to-
gether, ſhe would accompany him to
the grave. Seneca was touched with
her conſtancy, and uſed no endeavours
to diſſuade her from the reſolution ſhe
had taken; but told her, that, as ſhe
preferred a glorious death to any com-
forts ſhe might expect in living after
him, her conſtancy would obtain for
her an immortality of fame. Their
veins were opened at the ſame time, but
Nero ſent people to prevent Paulina's
death, and to bind up her wounds. The
paleneſs which ever after remained in
her looks, was an everlaſting mark of
her courage and fidelity.

METHINKS,

METHINKS, says Arfennes, Nero was born for the destruction of persons of merit. Corbulo's death is what I can least pardon him for. He was the most valiant and sage commander of his time: Nero himself respected him, and used to call him *Father*. Corbulo, observing the soldiers the Emperor sent to make away with him, run his own sword through his body, telling them, "I have well deserved it." Giving them thereby to understand, that he had been but too faithful to so unworthy an Emperor. Nero's disorderly life, and violent proceedings, set all honest men against him. Julius Vindex, born amongst the Gauls, remarkably brave, and of consummate wisdom, resolved upon some attempt to rid mankind of Nero's tyranny. Having assembled an infinite number of Gauls, who groaned beneath the weight of tributes imposed upon them by Nero, to inflame and animate them

to revenge, he observed, That this cruel Emperor had plundered and laid waste the universe; that he had murdered all honest men, and disgraced the empire by his infamous actions: "Let us succour," says he, "the Roman people, who bewail their hard servitude, and restore to the world that liberty which the Tyrant hath so unjustly wrested from it."

WHAT completed Nero's ruin was, replies Aristus, that Galba, who commanded the legions in Spain, revolted against the Emperor, determined to dethrone him if possible. Intelligence of it being brought to Rome, Nero saw himself in a moment abandoned by all the world, insomuch that he was left almost alone in his palace. He furnished himself with some poison, to serve in case of necessity: He requested some gladiator to kill him, but could not even

even find one to do it ; which occasioned him, in despair, to cry out, " What !" says the unhappy Prince, " have I " neither friend or enemy ? " He had thoughts of throwing himself into the Tiber, to put an end to his unhappiness, but he wanted the courage to do it. Some of his tribunes observing his distress, to encourage him, said, " Is it then so " sad a thing to die ? " He left Rome in the utmost disorder, attended only by four persons, and retired to the house of one of his freed-men, four miles from the city. But, seeing all was desperate, and no resource left him, after the decree of the senate, declaring him an enemy of the republic, he stuck a poniard into his throat, exclaiming, That he had lived indeed shamefully, but died still more ignominiously.

THE Romans, says Arfennes, flattered themselves that they should enjoy a perfect

perfect repose under the dominion of Galba, whom age had matured; for he was seventy-three years old when made Emperor. At first he contented himself with the title of "Lieutenant of the Senate and the Roman people;" but, at his accession to the empire, he injudiciously put to death several persons of quality, who were suspected by him; and this made him looked upon as a cruel and blood-thirsty man. He was observed too one day at table, to shew some concern at the great expence of so splendid a service. This taint of avarice made him regarded with contempt; as people were apprehensive lest this passion should carry him to make great exactions upon them. The Emperor possessed naturally high principles of probity, and was not in the main inclined to mischief; but he suffered himself to be ruled by a set of greedy and insatiable persons, who tyrannized over
the

the people. It is not enough, replies Timanthes, that princes are possessed of private virtue: It is not sufficient that they themselves injure no one; it is incumbent on them, moreover, to take care that their ministers do not abuse their confidence: They are responsible for any ill they suffer them to do.

THIS is exactly, pursued Arsennes, what rendered the reign of Galba so odious: They who were in authority under him insolently abused his name and power. He was old, and they therefore determined to make the best use they could of the little time they were likely to have to establish their fortunes, under a reign which, according to the common course of nature, must be short. The Roman legions, resumes Aristus, which were in Germany, mutinied against the pretorian cohorts, declaring they would not have an Emperor that
had

had been created in Spain. Galba was soon informed of these disturbances, and, to stop their progress, he thought of appointing a successor. Otho had the best interest, but Galba would hearken to nothing relating to him, knowing him to be a debauched and voluptuous man, who had shared in all Nero's pleasures, and whose morals bore near affinity to that Emperor's. This conformity of manners had rendered him most agreeable to Nero, who even caused him to espouse Poppæa, who passed for one of the handsomest women in Rome. This marriage, interrupts Arsennus, had like to have ruined Otho, whom his rival wanted to sacrifice to his jealousy; but Seneca prevented it, and got the sentence of his death changed into a kind of banishment: He was sent into Portugal, with the title of Governor. He was one of the first to join Galba, upon his taking arms against Nero, assist-
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ing him with his troops, money, and friends. Yet Galba could not bring himself to chuse him for his successor; but cast his eyes upon Piso, and resolved to adopt him. He was descended from Crassus and Pompey the Great; and, besides the nobleness of his extraction, possessed every personal quality that could render him worthy the election. The Emperor's assurances to him that he should chuse him for his successor, made no alteration in his behaviour: He expressed no signs of astonishment or joy, but shewed by his moderation how worthy he was to command the universe, whom so high a dignity could not dazzle.

THE German legions mutinied, says Timanthes, and chose Vitellius; a vicious man, and abandoned to his pleasures, having passed his whole life in debauchery. The soldiers made choice
of

of him, thinking he would indulge them in all sorts of licentiousness. His faction got such head every day, that Galba quickly perceived the affair was become serious, and he must prepare for war.

HE had more to fear, says Aristus, from the intrigues of Otho than from the faction of Vitellius. Otho, by his liberalities, had insinuated himself into the minds of the soldiers, who hated Galba for his extreme covetousness. The soldiers conducted Otho to the camp, and proclaimed him Emperor; the centurions and tribunes being unable to oppose the torrent. In a moment Galba saw himself deserted by all, and was put to the sword without any attempting to defend him, save only one who remained faithful to him to the last, making every effort possible with his sword to keep off the conspirators, reproaching

proaching them with their rebellion. Piso, whom Galba had adopted, was wounded in the tumult, but saved himself in the Temple of Vesta, hoping there to find an asylum: He was plucked however from thence, and massacred at the gate of the temple. Otho flattered himself that the death of Galba and Piso would render him peaceable possessor of the empire. The Romans, when they recollected how he had passed his youth in Nero's court, dreaded him; but they took heart a little upon his sentencing the infamous Tigellinus to punishment, who had done so much mischief in Nero's reign. Tigellinus, perceiving no resource left, cut his own throat with a razor.

THE German legions, continued Timanthes, refused obedience to Otho, and proclaimed Vitellius their Emperor, who made dispositions to fall upon Italy,
in

in order to crush Otho before his authority could be well established. It seems, says Arfennes, as if God designed to take vengeance on the crimes of men, in kindling a most furious war wherein to dispute the empire in favour of two of the most wicked men upon earth. The day he fought Vitellius, Otho committed a great fault: For, under pretence of reserving himself for affairs of greater moment, he retired from the army, leaving the charge of it to his lieutenants, and tranquilly awaiting the success of a business, which was to decide the fortune of the universe. This retreat relaxed the soldiers' ardour and hopes, who would have fought under his eye with more courage. When the news of his army being routed was brought him, he run his sword through his body, though his officers advised him to try a second battle.

VITELLIUS'S

VITELLIUS's good fortune, continued Timanthes, was not of long duration: The eastern legions elected Vespasian, who quickly saw himself in a fair way of success, by the prudent conduct of his lieutenants which he sent before him, whilst he himself made preparations to come to Rome with a powerful force. Very honourable conditions were offered to Vitellius, if he would renounce the empire, to which he consented without much difficulty, provided he had his life and a suitable maintenance given him. But his partizans and soldiers would not listen to peace; saying, that would be to expose the Prince and his friends to the caprice of the Victor, who might, perhaps, use his good fortune insolently, regardless of promises: They observed besides, that Cæsar could never endure Pompey; that Augustus had forced Antony, his competitor, to kill himself; and they must expect no bet-

ter fate, if Vespasian became master of the empire.

VITELLIUS, resumes Arsennes, replied to them, that, for the sake of peace, and his love to the commonwealth, it became him to yield to a persecuting fortune, and renounce the imperial dignity. He wanted to save himself from the fury of the soldiers; who, however, seized him, put a cord about his neck, and tied his hands behind him like a criminal, and, in this condition, led him through the streets of Rome, no body pitying his disaster, having shewn himself such a coward. At length, after a thousand outrages, they murdered him, and threw his body into the Tiber.

VESPASIAN was received at Rome with great acclamations: He neglected nothing to restore good order throughout, and to repress the insolence of the gentry

try of the army, who had much relaxed from the vigour of ancient discipline. A young officer, to whom he had lately given a commission, presented himself before him to thank him; but Vespasian, perceiving him too finically dressed, and all perfumed, gave him a contemptuous look, and told him, that "A warrior
" had much better smell of garlic than
" musk." And immediately revoked his gift, and deprived him of his employment.

WHAT I am vastly pleased with, says Timanthes, in Vespasian's conduct, is his discretion and modesty. He was descended from the Flavian family, which was not very illustrious till his advancement to the empire: Far from desiring to conceal his origin, he was always the first to speak of it, and laughed at those who, out of flattery to him, would have deduced his descent from

one of the companions of Hercules. I remember, resumes Aristus, a fine passage in that Emperor's life. He fell asleep one day at the theatre whilst Nero was reciting some poetry: Nero, to punish him, ordered him to retire. Vespasian, upon this, asked one of Nero's freedmen where he should go to? The Insolent bluntly told him, "Go to the gallows, if you will." When Vespasian afterwards came to the empire, this freed-man was afraid he would resent the insolent answer he had given him, and accordingly threw himself before him for pardon. Vespasian, without any emotion, or appearing in the least angry, only said to him, "Go to the gallows."

THAT Emperor, pursues Arsennus, had a majesty of soul above the vulgar. He in no wise pursued his predecessors maxims, in their dislike to persons of any extraordinary merit, inhumanly butcher-
ing

ing all who appeared to them deserving of the empire. Politicians endeavoured to persuade him that it would be proper to dispatch Pomposian, because of a prediction respecting him, that he was born under a constellation which promised him the empire: But the Emperor, far from banishing him his court, created him consul, and made him promise him, that, when he should become emperor, he would acknowledge the favour to Vespasian's posterity.

WHATEVER merit a man is possessed of, says Timanthes, there is always some weak part to balance his good qualities. Vespasian certainly had great virtues, but then he was very covetous; and this foible in him greatly tarnished his other fine actions. He engaged in a business a private person would have been ashamed of: He bought up a great many articles for nothing almost, only to sell

them out again most extravagantly. He exacted money from all who aspired to public employments, and even sold pardons to criminals who could afford to buy off their punishments. He was artful enough too to give the management of the finances to the greatest plunderers of the public, that, in the end, he might confiscate their estates to himself, thus to punish them for their mal-administrations in pillaging the commonwealth. So that people used to say of him, that he made use of them as sponges, which one squeezes to force out the water they have sucked up. Titus wanting one day to make him sensible how much he dishonoured himself by his tax imposed upon urine, Vespasian called his son to him, as the money arising from it was carrying by, and asked him, Whether that money smelt ill? Titus, not suspecting his father's intention, told him, "No." "And yet," replies he, "it

" it is the tax-money upon urine : And
" (adds he) the odour of gain is always
" agreeable, let it spring from what
" source it will."

VESPASIAN is however inexcusable, pursues Arfennes, for his cruelty towards Sabinus, who had taken arms against the Romans during the latest commotions of the Gauls. He was defeated; and, after his rout, concealed himself in a cave, where he lived shut up nine years with his wife and children: He was at last however discovered, put in chains, and conducted to Rome with all his family. His wife threw herself at the Emperor's feet, and with tears in her eyes, in the most affecting manner, told him, that all those little ones, who were prostrate before him, she had been delivered of in a grave, to enlarge the number of intercessors for his clemency and grace to Sabinus. All the standers by

melted into tears at so piteous a spectacle, and the distress of Peponilla : Vespasian only remained unmoved, ordering them all immediately to execution.

I THINK, continued Timanthes, Vespasian is the first Emperor, since Augustus, who died a natural death. All the rest were either massacred or poisoned. This Prince shewed great placidness and courage in his last illness. Perceiving his end approaching, he said to his friends jocosely, " I find I shall soon be " a god." Alluding to the Roman custom of deifying their Emperors. He attended to the affairs of the empire during his illness, gave audience to ambassadors, and took the same pains as if he had been in perfect health. " An " Emperor," says he, " ought to die up, " and in the midst of business."

TITUS, who was furnamed " the Love " and Delight of human kind," says
Aristus,

Aristus, lived not wholly exempt from reproach. Many hated him, and suspected him of being cruel. He carried on for a long while an infamous commerce with Queen Berenice, Agrippa's sister: Nay, it was believed that he had promised to marry her, to the great offence of the Romans, who could not away-with the insolence of that Jewess: So that Titus was constrained to send her back in Vespasian's life-time. A thousand good qualities shone out in Titus, the moment he took possession of the empire, upon his father's demise. He had been educated at Claudius's court together with his son Britannicus, and had had the same masters; so that Titus forthwith resumed his character, and has ever been looked upon as one of the best princes who at any time filled the imperial throne.

WHAT rendered him so amiable to the Romans, was the familiarity with
which

which he treated them, and the free access they always had to his person. One day, to amuse himself and divert the populace, he made a kind of lottery, which sufficiently testified the goodness of his heart, as well as his generous and liberal temper: He threw amongst the people a prodigious number of little balls, in which was written the name of some good eatable, some part of dress, piece of plate, horse or jewel. They who picked up the balls carried them to the proper officers of Titus, who delivered to them according to the inscribed contents. He never refused any, whatever favours they demanded of him; saying, None should go away sorrowful from their Prince's presence. Calling to mind a day, in which he had done no act of kindness to any person, he mentioned it with regret as a day he had lost.

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So good a Prince, says Timanthes, should have had a longer reign; but his brother Domitian, burning with envy to usurp the empire, poisoned him. He died in the flower of his age, having reigned two years and a few months. Domitian was by constitution exceeding cruel, and addicted to all sorts of vice. In the beginning of his reign, he retired every day at a certain hour to his closet, as it was thought to apply himself to affairs of importance; but it was to divert himself with killing of flies. This occasioned an excellent witticism of one of his courtiers; who, being asked whether any one was with the Emperor, "No," answers he, "only a fly."

THERE was, says Aristus, in Domitian's behaviour something whimsical and extravagant. The humour took him one day to give a grand entertainment to some senators and knights; but it was accom-

accompanied with such certain circumstances as gave no small uneasiness to the guests. The banquet-hall was hung entirely with black; the cieling, the walls, the cushions, and seats were black. They were introduced, one by one, through an apartment equally dismal, without their servants being suffered to attend them, or any explanation what all this mystery signified. Those who waited upon them were blacked with ink, and looked like spectres or demons. All the poor senators thought it the preparative to their funerals: However, they were returned safe home again, in litters covered with black, unhurt. Presently after a rapping was heard at all their doors, with a message from the Emperor, making each of them a present, to recover them from their fright.

DOMITIAN'S cruelties, pursues Arsenes, were disguised under fair appearances,

ances, and shows of pretended friendships. Intending to put to death one of his financiers, he sent for him to the palace, and set him upon his own couch, next himself; he shewed him great distinction, and helped him to every thing at table, and yet, on the morrow, ordered him to be fixed to the cross. This was what rendered him insupportable to all the world; even to his wife and best friends, who conspired together to destroy him. He was slain in his chamber by his domestics, who amused him with fictitious tales to make their blow the surer. Whilst he was very attentive in reading a memorial they had put into his hands, they gave him several stabs with a dagger. It was said that Apollonius of Tyana, who was at Ephesus, the moment the Emperor was killed, had cognizance of the affair, and apprized the Ephesians of it, in a discourse he was then making to them.

The

The conspirators, to justify their intentions, raised Nerva to the empire, who adopted Trajan for his successor: A choice universally agreeable. Trajan was at that time with the army in Pannonia, where he had given great proofs of his courage and other virtues. Trajan was the first foreigner who arrived at the imperial dignity, Rome having always chose her Emperors out of Italy; but Nerva gave the preference to a Spaniard before all the Italians, purely for his merit.

NOTHING affects me more in that Emperor's life, says Aristus, than that confidence he expressed in the probity of a friend, whom all sorts of artifices had been used to render a suspected person, by giving him to understand that he had attempted his life. Trajan, to testify his firm persuasion of his friend's fidelity, who had invited him to supper, went

went without hesitation, and seemingly regardless of any ill impressions that had been practised upon him. He dismissed his guards, and ordered his host's barber to be called to shave him; he bathed and supped with great tranquillity and mirth. The next day he related to his courtiers what had passed, to shew them how ill-founded the calumny was; observing, that if he they had accused so wrongfully had had any design of murdering him, here was a fair opportunity, and, since he had not made use of it, it was a plain sign, and an unexceptionable testimony of his having no such bad intent. This trust exhibited something great and heroic, says Timanthes; for they who were most in his confidence had cautioned him to guard against the intrigues of this man's hypocritical pretensions to friendship.

PRINCES, pursued Arsennes, who sincerely love their subjects, and treat them
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in a fatherly manner, are far more confident and bold; tyrants, on the contrary, are alarmed at the lightest suspicions, and have recourse to all sorts of violence, to secure themselves from those they have taken umbrage at. What Trajan said to the colonel of his guards, upon presenting him the sword, according to the custom of the empire, sufficiently marked the uprightness of his intentions: "Take this sword; and, if I
" rule as a just prince, employ it in my
" service; but, if I abuse my authority,
" make use of it against me: He that
" gives law to all the world ought to
" have fewer faults than others."

If I mistake not, says Aristus, it was Trajan who extended so far the bounds of the empire, and carried to its greatest length the glory of the Roman name. This Prince extended his conquests beyond the Tigris, where the Romans
2 before

fore him were hardly known: He made Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia, Roman provinces: He gave the Parthians a king, after having destroyed their empire: He penetrated even to the Red-Sea, and passed the Persian Gulph: He traversed the Indies, and exceeded in his progress even Alexander. He died in the midst of his conquests, at Selinis, a town of Cilicia, in the arms of his wife Plotina, who had followed him, and who named Adrian for Trajan's successor, whose niece he had married.

It gave great offence, says Timanthes, to Trajan's friends, that he visited private persons, attended any entertainment he was invited to, and went in their coaches as opportunity offered. They would often twit him for making himself so familiar; but his answer was, That, as Emperor, he behaved to private persons as he could have wished

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they

they would have behaved in his place, had they been called to that dignity.

ADRIAN, who succeeded him, rejoins Arfennes, restored and enforced the military discipline: In their passage from one place to another, he marched the legions in as much order as if they were going to an engagement. He obliged the foldiers to walk on foot, and to acquit themselves punctually of their several functions. But, to set them a good example, he marched on foot with them himself: Like Scipio and Metellus, he eat the ammunition bread and cheese, drank water and vinegar mixed, and gave the first posts in the army to those only who shewed themselves the most affectioned to military discipline. He suffered no officers to be absent from their companies, obliged them to lie in their tents, was very exact in his payments to them; but was equally severe

to those, who, not content with their own due, appropriated to themselves any part of what belonged to the soldiers. He visited the sick, carried his own arms himself, and would march on foot twenty miles a day; would lie upon the ground, and attend to every thing that passed in his troops.

RARE is it to find, pursues Aristus, a more knowing Prince than Adrian; but withal very jealous and envious at another's fame, loath to yield to any one. In a dispute he once had with Favorinus, he maintained his opinion with too much heat: Favorinus easily saw it, and knew the Prince's envy that his opinion should be prevalent; accordingly, like a wise courtier, he yielded him a full victory. His friends upbraided him for such a strained complaisance: "What do you mean (says he to them)? would not you have me yield to a man with thirty legions?"

ANTONINUS, who swayed the empire after him, continues Timanthes, was more gentle and tractable: So friendly was he to every body, that his subjects might well be deemed his children, and the republic his family. He could never endure persons whom sloth and idleness rendered unprofitable to the republic, but deprived them of their pensions; telling them, Nothing was more shameful and unjust, than to let those eat at the republic's expence, who did nothing to deserve it. He often repeated that fine saying of Scipio Africanus: That he had rather save one citizen than slay a thousand enemies.

ONCE, subjoins Arsennes, he gave a very sensible answer to the celebrated philosopher Apollonius, whom he had sent for from Chalcis to instruct Marcus Aurelius. The Philosopher, arriving at Rome, instead of going to the palace
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took up his lodging at a house in the city. Antoninus sent to enquire after him, and to tell him to attend the young Prince; but the impertinent Philosopher haughtily refused to proceed to the palace, saying, "The disciple ought to come to his master, not the master to his disciple." Antoninus took no offence at the Philosopher's extravagance, but laughed at his vanity; and sent him word, "He was astonished so great a philosopher should find the way farther from his lodgings to the palace, than from Chalcis to Rome."

THE Philosopher, however, infused good sentiments into his Scholar; his reign was very gentle and agreeable to the Romans. His finances were almost exhausted by a long and tedious war with the Germans, yet he would never consent to lay any extraordinary tax on any of the provinces of the empire,

though in great need of money. He rather chose to expose to sale the rich furniture of his palace, his vessels of gold, silver, and crystal, his jewels and pictures; and, out of these, he raised a sum sufficient to furnish the expence of the war. In the end he returned them their money, all who had bought any part of his furniture and liked to part with it again; they who did not, were left to their option.

THIS Prince, says Timanthes, possessed a great fund of goodness; but he shewed too much condescension to his wife, whose abandoned life did him dishonour. He feigned not to see her irregularities, though he could not really be ignorant of what was publicly known; and yet he gave the very first employments to the partners of Faustina's debaucheries. The Emperor's friends had the boldness to represent to him the
wrong

wrong he did himself by his indulgence to her; and told him, that, if he could not think of putting her to death, he ought at least to divorce her. "If we divorce her," says he to them, without any emotion, "we must restore her her dowry:" Meaning by that the empire she had brought him.

MARCUS AURELIUS, pursues Aristus, had all along been brought up amongst the Stoic philosophers, who prided themselves in their apathy and insensibility: But methinks that stoicism is too far stretched, too conformable and patient, that could suffer, without remonstrating, the lewdness of a wife. He was not happier in his children than in his wife, continued Timanthes: His son Commodus, who succeeded him, was born to disgrace human nature. He was suspected of poisoning his father, to come at the empire. When his mother was

with child of him, she dreamt she was big with two serpents, one of which was more mischievous and dreadful than the other. The sequel but too well verified the prediction: For Commodus was more cruel than Nero and Domitian. He carried matters to such an extravagant pitch, as to cause himself to be worshipped under the name of Hercules the son of Jupiter. He wore a lion's skin, and carried a club in his hand, to imitate him whose name he had assumed. His follies and vices rendered him odious and insupportable to the Romans,

He hastened his end, replied Arsenes, by his own imprudence, leaving in his chamber his pocket-book, in which was wrote the names of several persons he designed to put to death. This happened by chance to fall into Marcia's hands, who had the honours of Empress paid her, and was at the head of the
list,

lift. She was frightened to see herself condemned to death by this cruel Prince, but very judiciously sent the fatal pocket-book immediately to Electus and Latus, captains of the Prince's guard, who were likewise of the number of the unhappy. They instantly judged it proper to prevent him, and concluded that Marcia should give him a poisoned draught when he came out of the bath; which was done. And they further bribed a wrestler, who seized him by the throat, and strangled him. As soon as the death of this Prince was divulged, a thousand imprecations pursued his memory: He was regarded as an enemy to the commonwealth, a parricide, and a persecutor of his country. Marcia, Latus, and Electus, dreading what might be the event of the murder they had committed, and the rage of the soldiers, gave out that the Emperor died of an apoplexy; and, for their further safety, they

they cast their eyes upon Pertinax, resolving to make him Emperor. He had signalized himself in the east, and during the wars in Germany, under Marcus Aurelius, whose particular friend he was. But his austere manners, and his passion to restore discipline amongst the gentry of the army, rendered him disagreeable: So that he was made away with in a very little time after he had mounted the throne. Electus, who made every possible effort to save the Emperor, was put to death with him. Pertinax's misfortune was owing to an ill-timed severity which he sought to exercise for the reformation of abuses.

AFTER this massacre, says Aristus, the soldiers carried their insolence to a great length. They proclaimed the empire to sale, and that they would invest him with it who could give them the best price. But two persons were to be found
who

who would avail themselves of this licentiousness of the soldiers, to make so unworthy an advantage of it: Didius Julianus, and Sulpician * son-in-law to Pertinax, both of them of consular degree. Julian, who had got the most money, had the better of his competitor. This election plunged the empire into the horrors of a civil war. The commanders of the legions in the provinces thought it their duty to dethrone this unworthy Emperor. Severus, Pescennius Niger, and Albinus Severus were at the head of the legions in Pannonia, Albinus of those in Great Britain: Niger commanded in Syria. He was the most puissant of the three competitors, because his government extended itself to Phœnicia, and the countries bordering upon the Euphrates. He had been several times consul, and had acquitted himself of that eminent charge with great

* Father-in-law to Pertinax, according to others.

dignity

dignity and honour. The army in Syria proclaimed him Emperor, and the tribunes as well as soldiers vowed to support him with their lives and fortunes.

He made an ill return, continues Timanthes, for their good-will shewn him. As if he had already been peaceably seated in the Roman Empire, he minded nothing but his pleasures, and to amuse the people of Antioch with shows, instead of marching speedily to Rome, which was the way to decide the success of this grand affair. Severus took his measures better, says Arsennes; and, that he might not have two enemies at a time to encounter, he resolved to enter into alliance with Albinus, and to make use of him to destroy Niger. The report of Severus's march, who was making all possible haste to Rome, determined the senate to declare him Emperor; and, at the same time, to condemn Julian to lose
his

his head. One of the tribunes strangled him in his palace.

SEVERUS, says Aristus, signalized the beginning of his reign by a bold action, in punishing the prætorian bands, whose insolence grew intolerable. He reproached them with murdering their Emperor and selling the empire; he had them stript naked by the soldiers, and turned thus disgracefully out of Rome, with a prohibition not to come within a hundred miles of it, on peril of their life.

THE reign of Severus, pursued Arsenes, might have been happy enough had it not been for his children: But Caracalla and Geta's hatred for one another arose to such a height, that a reconciliation was impossible. The eldest was married against his inclinations to the daughter of Plautian, who was immensely rich, and of great credit in Rome,

Rome, and amongst the troops. This man took it in his head, that, if he could put Severus and Caracalla to death, he might place himself in their stead. This secret he imparted to Saturninus colonel of the Prince's guard, who, by virtue of his office, might at any hour of the day or night enter the Emperor's apartment. Saturninus was astonished at Plautian's proposals, but concealed his uneasiness, and feigned to consent, dreading the power of Plautian, who would not have failed to have accused and ruined him. He demanded therefore a written order for the Emperor's death; which Plautian, whom passion had blinded, consented to, not at all reflecting on the consequences of so dangerous a writing. Saturninus, entering the Emperor's chamber, threw himself at his feet and discovered the plot, shewing him the order Plautian had given him. Hardly could the Prince believe Saturninus's words,

words, or the writing he shewed him; insomuch that the tribune, to prove his accusation, was forced to have recourse to a stratagem; which was, to send word to Plautian that he had executed his orders, and to desire him to hasten to take possession of the palace. He accordingly came; but, at his entrance, was seized by the guards of Severus, and massacred directly.

SEVERUS died in England*, in the midst of his army, says Timanthes. His sons wanted to share the empire betwixt them after his death: Europe and the meridional provinces to remain to Caracalla, and Asia, with the oriental provinces, to fall to Geta: But Julia their mother, who loved them both alike, broke this design, though in the end she had reason to repent it. For she had the grief to see Geta murdered in her own

* At York, he built the Picts Wall.

arms, by his brother ; who, to purge himself of the parricide, gave out that Geta intended to have prevented him. He put to death 20,000 persons of his brother's party. Caracalla likewise condemned the famous lawyer Papinian, colonel of the guards, for not undertaking his apology for his murder of his brother. "It is much easier," said he to that cruel Prince, "to commit a parricide than to justify it."

His treachery to the king of the Parthians, pursued Arsennes, took away all pretensions to honour, and blemished the glory of the Roman name. He wrote pressing letters to him to demand his daughter in marriage: The Parthian king excused himself, saying, that there was no likelihood that a Roman Emperor should ally himself to Barbarians. Caracalla however pressed him so much, that at last he consented, and the interview between

between the two princes was in a Parthian plain, amidst all possible demonstrations of a sincere joy. But the scene soon changed its face: For the Parthians, intent upon their mirth, had laid down their arms, when Caracalla gave the signal for the Romans to fall upon the Barbarians. They made a horrible slaughter, the King hardly escaping with life. Numbers were taken prisoners, and a prodigious booty. After this fine expedition, he set out again for the place from whence he came, plundering and burning all the towns in his rout. He wrote superb letters to the senate, as if he had got a grand triumph over the Barbarians; but the Romans, informed before-hand of the particulars of this adventure, detested the tragical action.

WITH all his other vices, continued Timanthes, he was much given to magic, and had always about him a large
U band

band of magicians, for the invocation of departed spirits ; from them to learn secrets to come, and the duration of his empire. One day the ghost of Commodus appeared to him, and only said, " Make haste to torment."

A PREDICTION, says Arfennes, which soon after had its accomplishment. A magician revealed to one of the Emperor's confidants, that his Lieutenant Macrinus meant to dethrone him. This trusty friend immediately writes urgent letters to Caracalla about the matter : They were delivered to the Emperor just as he was strongly taken up with the usual exercises of the course and chariot combats, and he gave these letters to Macrinus himself, with orders to open them and acquaint him with their contents. Macrinus was surprized to find his design discovered, and so took measures to hasten the execution of it, before

fore any thing further of it could reach the Emperor's ears. A centurion run him through the body, and left him dead upon the spot. The army proclaimed Macrinus Emperor, upon Caracalla's death, although he was a Moor, originally of Cafaria, a town of Africa, and of obscure birth. The senate however confirmed the soldiers' choice, though he did not long enjoy that dignity: For he was massacred by the soldiers of Heliogabalus, who called himself Caracalla's son.

THE soldiers, pursued Aristus, had in such manner rendered themselves masters of the empire, and the lives of the emperors, that they deposed them, and put them to death at their humour. The filthy life and mad debaucheries of Heliogabalus made him odious to all the world. The soldiers put him to death in their own camp; and, after

dragging his body through the streets, together with his mother's, threw them into the Tiber. Soothsayers had foretold him that he would die a violent death: So, to prevent falling into his enemies hands, he had prepared divers instruments to make away with himself. He was provided with filk cords, and silver daggers, had collected various poisons, which he kept in boxes of emeralds and hyacinths. He directed a very lofty tower to be built, which he paved at the foot with silver squares thick set with jewels; to the end, as he said, that, when he threw himself down from it, the world might say his death was precious.

CONVER-

CONVERSATION

How far CONVERSE with the FAIR SEX
may advantage a YOUNG MAN, at his
Entrance into the World.

THE natural inclination of men for the Fair Sex, and they again reciprocally for man, is without all doubt implanted in each by the great Author of Nature. In order to multiply and preserve the human species, according to his good purpose, it was necessary to bestow upon womankind certain attractions, to engage the researches of men; and that they, in turn, should find something agreeable in man, to satisfy their own self-love.

WHENCE springs then, asks Timanthes, that antipathy in particular men for the Ladies, the pain it gives them to address them, and that embarrassment they are always in when obliged to converse with them? It is owing, replies Arsennes, to their being removed from all acquaintance with them in their youthful days. They afterwards seem all amaze, when decorum, or the devoirs of civil life compel them to be in their company: It is a country whose manners, customs, and language they are perfect strangers to. The subjects of discourse wear the semblance of novelty, and are widely different from college topics. Even things they are acquainted with they there find treated in a new manner, that they feel themselves under all the difficulty in the world to enter into and support a conversation. This, rejoins Aristus, is perhaps the very thing which gives young persons a distaste for the company of the

Fair

Fair Sex, that they despair at first of succeeding in it; and the restraint they find themselves under impels them to seek for other society, where they can be more at liberty.

You say true, replies Timanthes; and it is a great misfortune for them to fall perhaps into the hands of young prostitutes, who are sure to confirm them in their dislike to women of character, by exaggerating the pain and restraint of an intercourse with them. Parties of pleasure are then proposed, where they find themselves at full liberty, and quite relaxed from that respect and complaisance which they are forced to observe towards women of merit. Vice is the consequence of this indulgence, and they grow old in its service.

ACCORDING to your way of reasoning, says Arsennes, one may conclude, that a

correspondence with modest women is the best curb upon young people, and a true method to inspire them with good sentiments. By being used to the company of women of virtue, one cannot help having an aversion and contempt for those who are not. Add too, pursues Aristus, that one receives an exquisite and delicate kind of pleasure from the conversation of an amiable and sensible woman, who expresses herself with a pleasantry, and in terms that seem purposely adapted to her thoughts. The desire of pleasing a person of this character inspires a man with virtue; at least, if he has any foibles or defects, he will do his utmost to hide them, and to appear to the best advantage.

If they do betray them, says Timanthes, a lady of wit and fancy will not let them pass unpunished: She knows how to rally and satirize ingeniously and agreeably

agreeably enough any discovery of mens bad intentions ; where, for instance, as is the case with many, they can find nothing to talk of but their luxurious eating, and how many bottles of Champagne they have swallowed. The more sly and acute these railleries are, the more keen and piquant ; and either they will not bear a reply at all, or a person may not be gifted to return the repartee with equal delicateffe. What an ingenious woman says in this sort in banter, often makes more impressiion on a young man's mind, to inspire him with horror for vice and debauchery, than the most serious and set discourse.

ANOTHER advantage, says Arsennes, to be drawn from a commerce with women respectable for their rank or merit, is, that men are ashamed to use too great a freedom of speech before them, by talking obscenely and in a manner

manner that favours of libertinism, and puts modesty to the blush. And this the licentiousness of the age renders but too common, where the respect due to the presence of such persons does not make men cautious.

THOUGH commerce with the Fair Sex should be as advantageous as you have endeavoured to make it appear, interrupts Aristus, yet you cannot deny but that it has its inconveniences, and that great circumspection is requisite to conduct one's self in so nice a matter. The Ladies have long since had the art of managing man, even to his own hurt, where too blind a deference has been paid to their will. How many men could one mention whom women have undone? We have not every day empires to lose, as Mark Antony; but certainly Cleopatra was the principal cause of his misfortune. I cannot deny, answers Arfennes,

Arfennes, the danger of an acquaintance with the Fair Sex, where a man has not sufficient empire over himself, to prescribe himself reasonable bounds without implicitly acquiescing in all their caprice. No, we may surely profit ourselves from their charms, without enslaving ourselves to their humours. The very example of the Roman you have cited, sufficiently shews, that there are men not overburdened with reason, and the slaves of their passions. Mark Antony's misfortune was the effect of his folly; he could refuse Cleopatra nothing. Julius Cæsar was as strongly attached to that Queen, yet he neglected nothing that was necessary to render himself master of the empire: Though Cæsar loved intrigue, yet he blended the soldier and statesman with it. The same discretion that directed his interests in the senate, served him to intrigue it with the Roman ladies.

You

You must own however, replies Timanthes, that a great deal of time is lost in womens company. It is a course to be avoided by whoever intends to arrive at learning, or thinks of applying himself to the study of the belles lettres. If you mean mere pedants, resumes Arsennes, who think only of filling their heads with Greek and Latin passages, to set fools a staring, I agree with you; they certainly will not learn that college science amongst the ladies: But for them whose aim is the accomplishment and improvement of their mind by literature, they will make a greater progress towards the polite arts, by sometimes seeing well-bred women, than by the mere poring over all the books in the world. For, by their company, men arrive at a great facility in making known their reading, and bringing their acquirements to light. What signifies knowledge if we cannot express it?

it? or to have the mind stored with the confused remembrance of an infinity of things, which we have not the art and talent opportunely to divulge? Persons of the most profound erudition cannot readily deliver their thoughts, but by an acquired habit obtained from conversation with the polite world. A graceful manner, the looks, action, and gesture, are not to be acquired in a closet, or amidst the mere pedants we have been talking of. The art of speaking justly, and *à propos*, not to intermix one language with another, so as to form out of them a barbarous kind of dialect; to know how to commend what another disapproves, or to express our dislike of what another admires, without appearing opiniated, or fond of contradiction; to distinguish pedantry from genteel education; all this is better learnt from sometimes conversing with the Fair Sex, than is possible by the sole help of books.

In

In delicacy of sentiment they even excel men, and are not less skilful in the art of pleasing: Theirs, in short, is the school to complete a man. The complaisance one is obliged to practise towards the Sex, impresses a certain tincture of politeness not easily to be acquired elsewhere. Men shew less respect and deference towards one another: In their controversies and defence of their own private opinions, they often fall into too great heats, and launch into a spleen and animosity, which their regard for the Fair Sex would not have permitted. That deference, their due, accustoms us so imperceptibly to a compliant behaviour, that, by this means, we arrive at a high degree of politeness.

It is true, continues Timanthes, we cannot see women of merit, without a natural ambition to please them. None err from this rule but the clown or the brute:

brute: And the various ways and shapes we try to effect it at length generally meets with success.

ONE very agreeable circumstance, resumes Aristus, in an acquaintance with Ladies of taste, is the *politesse* of their language: Trifles please from their mouth. Though they do not invent new words, yet the terms they express themselves in wear the semblance of novelty, and seem purposely framed for their thoughts. Custom, in some sort, receives its sanction from them: For, according to the determination of their ruelles *, new words and expressions are either made current or proscribed.

WHAT you observe, pursues Arsennes, sufficiently shews their error, whom prejudice directs to bar all connections

* Ruelle is a polite meeting or assembly of ladies in France, for the sake of conversation.

with

with the Fair Sex, if you mean to grow wise. The better to comprehend this, says Aristus, only make the experiment betwixt two men of equal learning, one of whom has seen nothing but his books, whilst the other has enforced his study with the conversation of the polite world, that marvellous assistant to wipe off the rust which a too close attention to the abstract sciences is apt to leave upon the mind. A man who has never seen the ladies but in perspective, and at a distance, when he is obliged to be of their party, though possessed of ordinary abilities, yet appears half a fool, and under such visible pain and constraint, as to render him an object of pity; hardly daring to open his lips. And though he should have his full share of sense, yet will he appear but middlingly furnished, from a difficulty he is under to express himself, and his being so unpractised in the world. And,
if

if he happens to be a man of great learning, he passes for a pedant: When he speaks, it is under such restraint, he seems a foreigner in his own country. Does he hazard a compliment? nothing in the world can be more starch, affected, and insipid; often too the contrary of what he intends. If the conversation turns upon subjects which in his books he never read of, he finds himself condemned to be silent; shut out from his part in a conversation, where people of inferior abilities cut a figure, only from being a little accustomed to the world: He does not even express his attention to what others say with a happy grace *.

* A more eligible apology our Author, in his Treatise on Study, puts in the mouth of one of his colloquists, for men of letters, is this; that, "One reason of their talking but little, and not shining in conversation, is owing to their too great reading: They are used to such fine things, and have acquired so great a *delicateſſe*, that common talk appears far beneath their ideas; and they dare not even hazard their own sentiments, for fear of degrading them in the expression."

X

BUT

BUT he takes an ample satisfaction, replies Timanthes, if you enter upon topics within his acquirement. What a torrent! What a display of learning! He runs on without ceasing, and perplexes himself with his own ideas; talks of things above the reach of his hearers, and often too his own: Disputes, contradicts, and stiffly maintains the affirmative in opposition to what others advance, thinking to shew his fine parts, by a difference of sentiment. If he meets with an unexpected resistance, and contrary opinions are too forcibly urged, he flies to abuse, and bestows upon his opponents the charge of ignorance. Thus he displeases less in not speaking a word, than in all the fine rhetoric in which he thought to distinguish himself. It is peculiar to collegiates, to whom commerce with the world has not given a polish, neither to speak, nor hold their tongue agreeably,

ably, and in a manner that should shew their sense.

STUDENTS, says Arfennes, who join to their more learned applications a proper intercourse with the polite part of the female world, soon rub off their rust, and become agreeable: The bent brow assumes a more gay and sprightly air, every action grows less constrained and more free, and their physiognomy bar- ters Meditation's pensive garb for a more lively livery. They discourse with so much ease, facility, and propriety, clear up the most difficult and embrangled subjects with such perspicuity, that one would think nature spoke from their mouth. The very silence of a polite scholar, resumes Aristus, has something engaging in it: His very air of attention shews he enters into your utmost meaning in what you address to him, and in his eye you may read his sense and penetration.

WHAT is most of all insupportable in your scholars by profession, is, continued Timanthes, their passion for their own opinions, and the little deference they shew towards any who cannot agree with them. Whilst, by mixing with the world, this severity of temper wears off, and they grow more social and complaisant. We then see them offering reasons for what they advance, without any supercilious affectation; and this more with design to relieve a languid conversation, than out of any motive of contradiction or vanity. Proposing too their own reasons in so civil, so gentle and agreeable a way, that persons of a contrary opinion are won over by their insinuating address. And, if the subject takes a jocular turn, the most censorious would be pleased with their manner of conducting it.

I AM persuaded, interrupts Arsennes, that this degree of politeness is only to be
obtained

obtained by frequenting the company of the polite part of both sexes: There it is we learn when to speak and when to be silent. And though the ladies have less learning, yet have they a surer and better taste than most men. They have a great propriety of discernment in what is nice and delicate. Nature and plain good sense affects them, whilst what is obscure, languid, affected and intricate, gives them instant disgust.

WHAT say you then, resumes Aristus, to the reproaches cast upon your womens men and attendants upon the ladies? that such a commerce renders them timid and effeminate. It is a charge very ill founded, answers Arfennes: Women have a natural aversion for cowards: If a man's courage is suspected, all his other good qualities vanish at once. As valour is a virtue to which they make no pretensions, and is no

characteristic of theirs, they in some fort make themselves amends for it, by their esteem of it in others. A man ambitious of the name of brave, feels his courage redoubled from the commendations of the Ladies; for then uniting to a thirst of glory, the desire of ingratiating oneself to a person one regards, the greatest enterprizes have owed their success to an emulation of this fort. Add too, that this envy to please refines the courage of a man bred to arms from what is savage and cruel in it. That rigour which the necessity of arms requires to be exercised against an enemy, naturally inspires us with sentiments of inhumanity, which the softer attractions of the Fair Sex can alone reduce. A great Princess had reason to say, that she could not esteem a man merely for his valour, without any other good quality to recommend him, since that, singly, was often a troublesome

some acquisition. Persons of that character should save all their ferocity for the enemies of their country, they should not always embue private conversations with bloody accounts of their martial feats; too much the foible of some military men. When war is the subject, they cannot speak of themselves with too much modesty, never ranging an army in order of battle in the midst of a drawing-room, or making out the roll of every squadron or battalion engaged. The soft respite of their attendance on the Fair, will help to moderate their warlike ardour; and, in that school of *politesse*, they will learn things not to be obtained in a camp. Thus then, an acquaintance with women of sense and virtue is so far from reflecting any disgrace to a man, that we may see its real benefit and service. For a happy choice herein is the means to preserve young men from debauchery, to polish their

minds, to render them affable and courteous; to banish moroseness from the scholar, and brutality from the brave. As for those libertines, indeed, whose infamous lives disgrace their sex, callous to the censure of modesty and shame, they should be shunned as one would the plague.



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